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# THE HISTORY

OF THE

# CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

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THE

# History of the Church of England.

*From the Death of Elizabeth to the Present Time.*

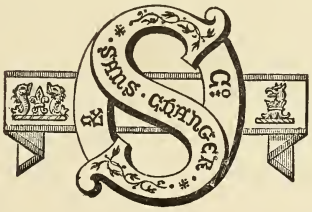
BY

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## CHAPTER XVIII.



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Opening of the Long Parliament.



N November 3, 1640, "a day," says Evelyn, "never to be mentioned without a curse,"* met that assembly, which was, in the view of the Royalist, "the deplorable and dismal Parliament,"† and in that of the Puritan, "the most celebrated Parliament that ever sat in England."‡ "Its convening," says H. L'Estrange, "was attended by this kingdom with so much longing, such impatience of desires, as every moment which retarded it was considered a kind of grievance to the subject."§ Yet, to the eyes of some, it opened gloomily. "It had a sad and melancholic aspect upon the first entrance," says Clarendon, "which presaged some unusual and unnatural events."‖ The King had avoided the pompous ride through London, and gone privately in his barge to the Parliament stairs. His advisers had reckoned much upon the appointment of Sir Thomas Gardiner as Speaker, but Sir Thomas had unfor-

* *Diary*, i., 17.
† Sir P. Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 153.
‡ Calamy's *Life of Baxter*, i., 19.
§ *Reign of King Charles*, p. 202.
‖ *Rebellion*, p. 68. Ed. Oxford, 1843.

tunately lost his election, the discontented party having laboured with the utmost zeal against him, and thus given at once a proof of their earnestness and an omen of their future success. This party was now, since the Short Parliament, thoroughly organised and active. Everywhere it had made itself felt at the last elections, both those of members of Parliament and those of clerks for the Convocation,* and the consciousness of its rapidly increasing power struck terror into the hearts of those who sought to exalt the royal prerogative. The day for which the Parliament was summoned was thought ominous. Men reminded the archbishop that the Parliament which opened on November 3, in the reign of Henry VIII., had signalised itself by the overthrow of Cardinal Wolsey and the dissolution of the abbeys.† Thus, some who loved the King best, did not welcome him with their wonted enthusiasm when he entered Westminster Abbey at "the little door which

* *Eikon Basiliké*, c. i. Hall's *Autobiography;* Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 290. Clarendon. It ought, perhaps, here to be stated whether it is intended to treat the *Eikon* as the production of the King or of Bishop Gauden. Mr. Hallam has authoritatively pronounced for the Bishop (*Lit. Europe*, iii., 151). On the other hand, Mr. Southey, no mean authority, is as strong in favour of the King (*Quarterly Review*, lxxiii., 249). It would occupy too much space to enumerate the grounds on which these opposing opinions are based. From a comparison of the *Eikon* with other known writings of King Charles, it would appear that it cannot possibly be his composition, though we know from Sir P. Warwick (*Memoirs*, p. 68) that the King had the MS. much in his hands. It may, therefore, be fairly treated as expressing his sentiments.

† Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 35.

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openeth towards the east, and was received by the sub-dean and prebendaries under a canopy of state, and so conducted to the place where he heard the sermon." *

The sermon was preached by Bancroft, Bishop of Oxford, and, immediately after hearing it, the King went by Westminster Hall to the Parliament House, and the Commons were summoned before him. He then addressed them in a short speech. He declared that he was resolved to put himself freely and clearly on the love and affections of his English subjects, and he desired them to consider the best way for the safety and security of the kingdom. He hoped that they would chastise the rebellious Scotch, and provide his army with money, and he referred them for particulars of the state of affairs to the statement about to be made by the Lord Keeper.† The speech made by Lord-Keeper Finch was highly eulogistic of the King and his government, and condemnatory of the Scotch.

Choice of Speaker.

Having duly listened to it, the Commons returned to their own House, and elected as their Speaker Mr. William Lenthal. Lenthal had been named for the post by the King, in the hurry caused by the unexpected disappointment as to Sir Thomas Gardiner. He was a bencher of Lincoln's Inn, a lawyer of competent practice, and considered to be well affected to the Church and King. But "no doubt," says Clarendon, "a worse choice could not have been deputed of all that profession who were

* Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 478.
† Rushworth, iii., i., 13. Nalson, i., 481.

then returned, for, not knowing how to preserve his own dignity, or to restrain the license and exorbitance of others, his weakness contributed as much to the growing mischiefs as the malice of the principal contrivers."* On November 5 the new Speaker was presented to the King, and on Saturday, the 7th, the House first met for the despatch of business.

Grievances.

Instantly the grievance-orators opened with full chorus. Petitions had been presented on behalf of Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, Lilburn, and Leighton, and from distant counties came bills of grievances, escorted to the House by large troops of horse.† His audience, therefore, was well prepared, when Sir Benjamin Rudyard rose and said,‡

Sir B. Rudyard's speech.

"Mr. Speaker, we are here assembled to do God's business and the King's, in which our own is included, as we are Christians, as we are subjects..... We well know what disturbance hath been brought upon the Church for vain petty trifles; how the whole Church, the whole kingdom hath been troubled where to place a metaphor, an altar. We have seen ministers, their wives, children, and families, undone against laws, against conscience, against all bowels of compassion, about not dancing upon Sundays. What do these sort of men think will become of themselves when the Master of the

* *Rebellion*, p. 68. † Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 36.

‡ Sir B. Rudyard's speech is assigned to November 9 by May, *History of the Parliament*, p. 48 (Masere's edition), but is put upon November 7 by *The Diurnal Occurrences*, by Rushworth and Nalson.

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House shall come and find them thus beating their fellow-servants? They have a mind to worry preaching; for I never yet heard of any but diligent preachers that were vexed with these and the like devices. They despise prophecy, and, as one said, they would fain be at something more like the mass —a muzzled religion. They would evaporate and dispirit the power and vigour of religion, by drawing it out into solemn and specious formalities, into obsolete antiquated ceremonies new furbished up. They have so brought it to pass, that under the name of Puritans all our religion is branded, and under a few hard words against Jesuits all popery is countenanced. Whosoever squares his actions by any rule, either divine or human, he is a Puritan. Whosoever is governed by the King's laws, he is a Puritan. He that will not do whatsoever other men would have him do, he is a Puritan. Their great work, their masterpiece now, is to make all those of the religion, to be the suspected party of the kingdom. Let it be our principal care that these ways neither continue nor return upon us: if we secure our religion, we shall cut off and defeat many plots that are now on foot both by them and others. Believe it, sir, religion hath been for a long time, and still is, the great design upon this kingdom. It is a known and practised principle that they who would introduce another religion into the Church, must first trouble and disorder the government of the state, that so they work their ends in a confusion, which now lies at the door."*

* May's *History of the Parliament*, pp. 49-50.

In the same strain followed Sir E. Hales, Mr. Pym, Sir J. Holland,* and Mr. Bagshaw. "When I cast my eyes," said the latter speaker, "upon the High Commission and other Ecclesiastical courts, my soul hath bled for the wrong pressures which I have perceived to be done and committed in these courts, against the King's good people; especially for the most monstrous use of the oath *ex officio*, which as it is now used I can call no other than *carnificina conscientiæ*. I have some reason to know this, that have been an attendant to the Court these five years for myself, and a dear friend of mine, sometime knight of our shire, for a mere trivial business; that the most that could be proved against him was the putting on his hat in the time of sermon." † Mr. Bagshaw's speech

In so vast an array did the grievances present themselves on that notable Saturday, November 7, that above forty committees were obliged to be formed to take them into consideration.‡ On the Monday, there was a repetition of the same scene. Petitions setting forth grievances, civil and ecclesiastical, and declamations founded on the petitions growing bitterer and bitterer, occupied the House. The Lord Digby, speaking, as he said, for a very considerable part of the clergy of Dorsetshire, set forth the hardship of "the imposition of a new oath required to be taken by all ministers and others: Committees for grievances

Lord Digby's speech.

* Sir J. Holland was especially fierce against Papists, whereas his own wife was a Roman Catholic, and his daughters, by his own consent, educated in that religion, and placed in foreign nunneries.—Nalson, i., 496, note.

† Nalson, i., 498.

‡ Rushworth, iii., i., 23.

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which they conceive to be illegal, and such as they cannot take with a good conscience. Secondly—The requiring of a pretended benevolence, but in effect a subsidy,* under the penalty of suspension, excommunication, and deprivation, all benefit of appeal excluded." He violently attacked the proceedings of "that reverend new synod, made of an old convocation. Doth not every Parliament-man's heart rise to see the prelates thus usurp to themselves the grand pre-eminence of Parliament? The granting of subsidies, and that under so preposterous a name as a benevolence for that which is a malevolence indeed. What good Christian can think with patience on such an ensnaring oath as that which is by the new canons enjoined to be taken by all ministers.....where, besides the bottomless perjury of an *et cætera*, men must swear that they swear freely and voluntarily what they are compelled unto? This is a covenant against the King for bishops and hierarchy, as the Scottish covenant is against them, only so much worse than the Scotch, as they admit not of the supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs, and we are sworn to it."† Lord Digby was followed by Sir John Culpepper, who declaimed upon "the obtruding and countenancing of divers new ceremonies in matters of religion, as placing the communion-table altarwise, and bowing or cringing

Sir J. Culpepper.

* It was studiously called a benevolence by the clergy, because it was admitted on all hands that Convocation could not legally grant subsidies without their being confirmed by Parliament; only one instance to the contrary being known.—See Carwithen's *Church History*, vol. ii.

† Nalson, i., 506-7. Rushworth.

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in towards it, the refusing of the holy sacrament to such as refuse to come up to the rails," the canons, the *et cætera* oath, and the granting a benevolence by the clergy. Next came Mr. Grimstone, who made a still more elaborate and bitter attack upon the doings of the late Convocation. "In most of their canons he says they do like watermen, they look one way and row another, they pretend one thing, but intend nothing less. For a synod called together upon pretence of reconciling and settling controversies in matters of religion, to take upon them the boldness, thus, out of Parliament, to grant subsidies, and to meddle with men's freeholds, I dare say the like was never heard of before; and they that durst do this will do worse if the current of their raging tyranny be not stopt in time."*

Mr. Grimstone.

Unanimity on the subject of the discipline and ritualism.

The members spoke with earnestness, for they were all agreed, and were conscious, too, that in the matter of the ecclesiastical discipline, at least, they had the nation at their back. Almost all of them, indeed, were as yet attached to the Church of England,† and neither Presbyterians nor Independents; but probably there was not one in the House ready to stand up and defend all the late exercise of episcopal authority. Here was a subject on which they might all unite; a common ground of which a politic use might be made by the subtler spirits among them. To accustom men to act together, to commit themselves to a party and become asso-

* Nalson, i., 507-10. Rushworth.

† Clarendon, *Rebellion*, p. 74. *Life*, p. 937. Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 293-6.

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ciated for a joint purpose, is no unimportant point of ambition to him who aspires to lead and direct their counsels. What object could be more suitable to draw out the first efforts of united zeal, and to weld together by common action the discordant elements of the country party, than that on which they almost all felt alike, the tyranny of the bishops, and the audacity of the late Convocation?

First measures of retaliation.

It was convenient to connect with the matter of episcopal jurisdiction the notorious sufferings of the libellers sentenced by the Star-Chamber, and accordingly orders of release were at once despatched to recall from their distant imprisonment the maimed and mutilated Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton; as well as to liberate Leighton and Lilburn from the Fleet. But it was not enough to atone for past oppression, to grant a tardy relief to the victims of persecution. Did not those who had sanctioned and administered the system still live and flourish, and were they not within their reach? The Commons voted that Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, should be compensated by large sums of money, to be paid by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the other High Commissioners, and "as these were comforted after their sufferings, so other divines (for the beginning of this Parliament seemed a little doomsday), after a short pleasure, were brought to their torment."*

* May's *History of the Parliament of England*, p. 55.

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Dr. Cosin accused by Peter Smart.

The first formally accused, was Dr. Cosin, Master of St. Peter's, Prebendary of Durham, and Dean of Peterborough. Dr. Cosin was unfortunate in having an active and unscrupulous personal enemy. So long back as the year 1628,* one Mr. Peter Smart, who had been a schoolmaster, and afterwards Prebendary of Durham, a silly, but bitter enthusiast, had been brought before the Court of High Commission at York, for a scurrilous attack upon the ceremonial used in the Cathedral, in a sermon preached at Durham,† deprived of his Church preferment, and imprisoned. Mr. Smart, being considered a martyr by the Puritans, had been supplied by them with £400 a year, on which comfortable annuity he had nourished his spite against the Chapter of Durham, and especially against Dr. Cosin, to whom, as the most influential man among them, he appears to have attributed his punishment. No sooner, therefore, was a Parliament met, to which his appeal would probably be not distasteful, than Mr. Smart presented a petition to invoke vengeance on the

* Nalson is in error in putting this date as 1638. See Dr. Cosin's *Life* in *Biographia Britannica*, and Appendix prefixed to his Works. Oxford, 1843.

† Here is a specimen of Mr. Smart's pulpit oratory:—"If religion consist in altar-ducking, cope-wearing, organ-playing, piping, and singing, crossing of cushions, and kissing of clouts, oft starting up and squatting down, nodding of heads and whirling about till their noses stand earthwards: setting basins on the altar, candlesticks and crucifixes, burning wax-candles in excessive number when there is no need of lights. I say, if religion consists in these, and such like superstitious vanities, ceremonial fooleries, apish toys, and Popish trinkets, we had never more religion than now."—Mr. Smart's *Sermon*, p. 23-4.

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superstitions of Dr. Cosin. "Among all the men of his rank," says May, "he was most noted for superstitions and curious observations in many kinds."* Yet, when the matter of Mr. Smart's petition was afterwards brought up in the form of articles of impeachment against him in the House of Lords, Dr. Cosin triumphantly vindicated himself, so that most of the Lords acknowledged his innocence; and Mr. Smart's own counsel having told him that he was ashamed of him, the Doctor was allowed to go free after having given bail for re-appearance, if summoned.†

Further attacks on Dr. Cosin.

But the leaders of the popular party in the House of Commons, naturally thought that the author of the *Cozening Devotions* ‡ must needs be as fair a mark as any which they could select for attacks on the ground of superstition and Popery. Accordingly, about the same time that Mr. Smart's petition was in agitation, a complaint was made against Dr. Cosin that he had enticed a young scholar to Popery, and he was committed to the Sergeant-at-Arms to attend daily till the House should call upon him. After fifty days imprisonment, and charges of twenty shillings a day, at length he came to a hearing. It turned out, however, that an important inaccuracy had been made

* May, u. s.

† Dr. Cosin's *Life, Biographia Britannica.* Fuller, the Church Historian, in mistake endorsed Mr. Smart's slanders, but afterwards acknowledged his error.

‡ Some account of this unfortunate book has been given, vol. i. The best explanation of the reason of its composition will be found in Evelyn's *Diary*, vol. ii., 40-1.

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by the member who had brought forward the charge. Instead of Dr. Cosin having perverted a youth to Popery, it appeared that, as Vice-Chancellor at Cambridge, he had severely punished a young scholar who had been perverted, made him recant, and expelled him the University. There was no compensation, however, for a man so noted as Dr. Cosin, "which," says the writer of his life, "gives but a disadvantageous idea of the justice and honesty of that House." *

Injustice of them.

First attack upon Archbishop Laud.

The same day (November 10) which witnessed the first attack upon Dr. Cosin, also heard the first accusation against a far more conspicuous churchman. Sir Edward Dering presented a petition on behalf of a Mr. Wilson, a Kentish clergyman, represented as having been the object of especial tyranny on the part of Archbishop Laud. Having prefaced his motion with pathetic lamentations as to the state of religion in the country, he proceeds: "Now, Mr. Speaker, in pursuit of my own motion, and to make a little entrance into this great affair, I will present unto you the petition of a poor oppressed minister of the county of Kent; a man orthodox in his doctrine, conformable in his life, laborious in the ministry, as any we have, or I do know. He is now a sufferer (as all good men are) under the general obloquy of a Puritan. The Pursuivant watches his door and divides him and his cure asunder to both their griefs. About a week since, I went over to Lambeth to move that

* *Biographia Britannica*, art. Dr. Cosin. *Persecutio Undecima*, p. 13. Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii., 59.

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great Bishop (too great indeed) to take this danger off from this minister, and to recall the Pursuivant. And withal, I did undertake for Mr. Wilson that he should answer his accusers in any of the King's Courts of Westminster. The Bishop made me answer (as near as I can remember) *in hæc verba:* 'I am sure that he will not be absent from his cure a twelvemonth together, and then (I doubt not) but once in a year he shall have him.' This was all I could obtain, but I hope (by the help of this House) before this year of threats run round, his Grace will either have more grace or no grace at all. For our manifold griefs do fill a mighty and a vast circumference; yet so that from every part, our lines of sorrow do lead unto him and point at him, the centre from whence our miseries in this Church, and many of them in the Commonwealth, do flow." *

Sentiments of Sir E. Dering.

Whatever may have been the real merits of the case as regards Mr. Wilson, here was an accusation distinct enough, and introduced with sufficient pathos and oratory to excite the House to fury against the man whom they so much hated. Yet the orator, as he himself has apologetically told us, by no means desired the terrible vengeance which afterwards overtook the prelate whom he was the first publicly to denounce, still less did he desire the overturn of Episcopacy and the Liturgy of the Church. Like many another public man at this time, he was eager to redress abuses, but with-

* Nalson, i., 516-17. Rushworth. Sir E. Dering's *Speeches in Matter of Religion.* (Pamphlet, 1642.)

out any thought or desire for organic changes either in Church or State. "I thank God," says he, "my heart hath never yet known the swelling of a personal malignity. *Non sic didici Christum.* And for the Bishop, I profess I did (and do) bear a good degree of personal love unto him, a love unto some parts and qualities which I think him master of. I did not dream, at that time, of extirpation and abolition of any more than his archiepiscopacy. A severe reformation was a sweet song then; I am, and ever was, for that and no more." *

Attack on Strafford.

The leaders of the House of Commons had by this time felt their way. A singular unanimity prevailed. All men appeared to have "brought some heats with them," † and to be ready and desirous to mark their strong feelings by action. This first zeal must be taken advantage of, and a rapid and vigorous blow struck against the greatest and most dangerous of the enemies of the popular cause. No man for a moment doubted as to who this was. There was one in view of whom even the anger against the Archbishop was trifling. The tall, dark man, with clouded brow and stooping gait; ‡ the man who had once been the popular advocate, but now for many years the most devoted and unscrupulous servant of the Crown; the man who neither blundered, hesitated, nor feared—must be struck at without delay, if

* Sir E. Dering's *Preface to his Speeches.* London, 1642.
† Clarendon.
‡ Sir P. Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 112.

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Parliament was to continue in the triumphant course on which it had entered. Eleven years ago, Pym had vowed vengeance against Wentworth for deserting the cause of the people; at last he has the opportunity of gratifying it. Lord Strafford, who saw deeper into things than his master, had desired urgently to be excused in his attendance at the Parliament, and to remain at the head of the army. The King, however, would by no means yield to his request, but had absolutely commanded his attendance, declaring that, "as he was King of England, he was able to secure him from any danger, and that the Parliament should not touch one hair of his head." *

About three o'clock on Wednesday, November 11, Lord Strafford, hearing that the Houses were still sitting, and that the Commons had been deliberating all the morning with closed doors, went down to the House of Lords to inquire the news. Scarcely, however, had he entered the House, when Mr. Pym appeared with a message from the Commons to impeach him of high treason.† Not suffered to speak, though afterwards admitted to plead on his knees, he was committed, after less than an hour's debate, to the custody of Maxwell, the gentleman usher, and the delighted Commons adjourned to congratulate one another on the successful issue of their first great stroke.

The absorbing interest of the impending trial of

* Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 36.
† Clarendon, p. 70. May, p. 60.

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this great man, might be expected to turn men's attention aside somewhat from the consideration of ecclesiastical grievances, but petitions continued to flow into the House against excesses of episcopal government, dangers of Popery, innovations in religion.* The petitions were backed by speeches, great numbers of the members being anxious to deliver their testimony against a system which was already evidently doomed, and to insure an easy popularity by the enunciation of a few commonplaces on the subject of religious grievances.

Petitions against ecclesiastical grievances increase.

The House of Commons, in the consciousness of its strength, had not scrupled to set aside the sentence of a court still legally existing, and to recall Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick from their sentence, in spite of the Star-Chamber.† The House of Lords now followed their example. In the attack which was already meditated on Archbishop Laud, it was thought that no instrument would be more serviceable than Bishop Williams. For three years the Bishop of Lincoln had lain in the Tower, a victim, as it was by many thought or pretended, to the unscrupulous malignity of the Primate. On Monday, November 16, an order was made for his release. The next day he was conducted into the abbey-church of Westminster by six bishops, and there officiated (it being a day of humiliation‡) as

Liberation of Bishop Williams.

* Nalson, i., 523. L'Estrange, p. 205. Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, i., 8. These petitions are said to have been drawn up by a Committee in London, presided over by Dr. Burgess, and transmitted to agents throughout England.

† Collier, *Church Hist.*, viii., 188.

‡ Dr. Burgess and Mr. Marshall preached before the Commons.

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Dean of Westminster; "more honoured at the first by the Lords and Commons than ever any of his order, his person looked upon as sacred, his words deemed as oracles."* Immediately on his release he was reconciled to the King, and in an interview which lasted till after midnight, his majesty "made him some amends for the evils past."† His biographer represents him as magnanimously ignoring the injuries he had received, but Williams, who was very ambitious and covetous of popularity, evidently thought that he now had a grand opportunity before him, that he was destined to take the lead, and give the tone in ecclesiastical matters; and he was perhaps not desirous to be hampered with the remains of former quarrels.

But in feeling or affecting forbearance towards those who had brought him to his late imprisonment, the Bishop of Lincoln was doing the very opposite to that which those who had liberated him expected and required at his hands. It was hoped that he would have been a ready instrument for a malicious attack, and an obedient servant of the leading men in Parliament for carrying out their purposes. He would not, however, be content to be made an instrument, and they soon wearied of

The former exhorted them earnestly to enter into a solemn covenant to effect reformation in the Church, and towards the close of his sermon bitterly inveighed against the bishops as "step-fathers and hard-hearted wretches," to whom all the mischiefs were to be attributed.—See *First Sermon at the late Fast.* London, 1641.

* Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 464. Hacket's *Williams*, ii., 138. Nalson, i., 529. L'Estrange, p. 206.

† Hacket, u. s.

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Exasperation of the House against the clergy increasing.

him.* For now day by day the clamour grew stronger and louder. The House was besieged by petitions, both general, and against individual clergy. The committees of religion, under the pressure of the general excitement, proceeded to act and censure unhesitatingly on *ex parte* statements. It seemed that men's minds were now too much agitated to take any thought for the tame considerations of justice and equity. It was determined to retaliate on those obnoxious clergy who had so long had the upper hand, and there was but scant distinction made between those who were more, and those who were less, justly chargeable with *innovations*. It was enough for a man to have the views on Church government which his position required, and to object to the Puritanical peculiarities, and straightway he was denounced. That there were immoral men among the ministers of the Church is not to be doubted,† but the dominant faction in the House of Commons maliciously threw in the makeweights of profanity and drunkenness, in almost every case, to the more serious charges of compelling the communicants to come up to the rails, and bowing at the name of Jesus.‡

* Hacket's *Williams*, ii., 140-1. Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 310. Clarendon's *Rebellion*, p. 87. "The bishop was less distasteful to the Presbyterians in his person than any that wore a rochet. And some of the chief lords of that knot made him such offers of honour and wealth for his share, if he would give way to their alterations, that they would buy him, if his faith had been saleable, at any price."—Hacket, ii., 144.

† Baxter's *Autobiography*, *ap. init.* Calamy's *Life of Baxter*. May's *Hist. of the Parliament*, p. 55.

‡ See the *First Century of Scandalous and Malignant Priests*,

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While some committees received accusations against individual clergymen, others were appointed to discover the number and names of those who had been censured by the bishops during the last ten years, and the speakers began now not only to declaim against abuses, but to call for the axe to be laid at the root of the tree, and that "the groves and high places of idolatry" should be removed and pulled down.* This extravagant mood was zealously aggravated by the Scotch Commissioners, who were now residing in London, and made insolent by the popularity of their cause. "They were looked upon," says Sir P. Warwick, "as angels of light, and they frequented the congregations of the chief dissenting Presbyters, who, from all quarters of the kingdom, flew up to this city as if they were to convert an unsanctified heathen nation; and Timothy and Titus are upon all occasions proved not to have been bishops, and the rites of the Church of no better appellation than superstitions, and the bowing at the name of Jesus hath a book written against it, with a no less title than 'Jesus-worship confuted;' so as if a Mahometan had heard it cried in the streets to be sold (as it was), surely he might justly have thought this nation at that time was denying their Saviour."†

published by Mr. White. Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, i., 42. This was admitted by the committee at Cambridge to Dr. Ward.—See Lathbury's *Hist. of the Prayer Book*, p. 206.

* Sir J. Wray, Nov. 21. Nalson, i., 540. Still, it was long before any considerable party in Parliament showed themselves hostile to the Episcopal Church. Even the London petition was barely received, after a long debate.

† Sir P. Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 152. "I am grieved," says

The London Petition.

Friday, December 11, was a great day in this war of petitions. On that day, Alderman Pennington, accompanied by hundreds of the London 'prentices, and an immense mob, carried up to the House the famous London Petition against the government of the Church by bishops, and all the liturgical and ritual grievances which the profoundest Presbyterian scrutiny could detect. These were enumerated under twenty-eight heads, most of which, as might be expected, are extremely frivolous and absurd.*

Attack upon the late Convocation.

But the time was now thought to have arrived for taking some definite step in accordance with the many petitions, accusations, and declamations which had been heard in the House. The most obvious point for attack was the late Convocation and the

Sir E. Dering, "to see that wretched, unlearned, and ungodly pamphlet, ascribed to Mr. Burton, with that daring impious title, 'Jesu-worship confuted,' where by way of a scornful sarcasm he is not afraid (as with a nickname) to call Christians Jesu-worshippers."—Nalson, ii., 611.

* The getting up and presenting of this and similar petitions is sharply touched by the *Satirist*.

> "When tinkers bawl'd aloud to settle
> Church discipline for patching kettle;
> The oyster-women locked their fish up,
> And trudged away to cry no Bishop—
> Botchers left old clothes in the lurch,
> And fell to turn and patch the Church—
> Some cried the Covenant instead,
> Of Pudding-pies and gingerbread;
> Instead of kitchen-stuff some cry
> A Gospel-preaching Ministry,
> And some for old suits, coats, or cloak,
> No surplices or service book."
>
> *Hudibras*, canto ii.

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canons. It was contended that the making of any canons without consent of Parliament was illegal, that the grant of subsidies or benevolence was an illegal act, and that an especial offence had been committed by the enforcement of a new oath to be taken by all ministers. Sir E. Dering made a long and vehement, but weak, speech, contending for the illegality of the Convocation, his principal argument being the change of name, which had been altered from Convocation to Synod, and that those who were elected for one assembly could not, without invalidating their election, constitute themselves into another. Mr. Nathaniel Fiennes* argued against the canons as containing sundry matters which are destructive of the very principal and fundamental laws of the kingdom, and he especially instanced the canon which declares the kingly power, and that which prescribes the *et cætera* oath. His speech was long and able, and at the conclusion of it the debate was adjourned. The next day it was resumed by an orator who argued for two hours in justification of the canons. This bold man was Mr. Holborne,† but unfortunately his speech has not been preserved, the principle of fair play being not a popular one at that time. Sir B. Rudyard then spoke, and exhorted the House "to be actors in the preservation of religious con-

* Nalson, i., 677. Mr. Fiennes was one of the few anti-episcopal men in the House.—Clarendon's *Life*, p. 937 (Works, Oxf., 1843).

† Mr. Holborne was counsel for Mr. Hampden in the Ship-money case, and was one of the glorious 59 who voted against the iniquitous Bill of Attainder of Lord Strafford.

cordance, which will never be safe nor well at quiet till these heavy drossy canons, with all their base metal, be melted and dissolved."* It was then resolved (it is said unanimously):

"1. That the Clergy of England convented in any Convocation, or synod, or otherwise, have no power to make any constitutions, canons, or acts whatsoever in matters of doctrine, discipline, or otherwise, to bind the clergy or laity of the land, without consent of Parliament.

"2. That the several constitutions and canons ecclesiastical treated upon by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the rest of the bishops and clergy of those provinces, and agreed upon with the King's majesty's license in their several synods begun at London and York, 1640, do not bind the clergy or laity of the land, or either of them.

"3. That these canons and constitutions ecclesiastical do contain in them many matters contrary to the King's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and statutes of this realm, to the rights of Parliament, to the property and liberty of the subject, and matters tending to sedition and of dangerous consequence.

"4. That the several grants of the benevolence or contribution granted to his most excellent majesty by the clergy of the provinces of Canterbury and York, in the several convocations or synods holden at London and York, 1640, are contrary to the law, and ought not to bind the clergy."†

* Nalson, i., 678.

† *Ibid.*, i., 678-9.

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The Scotch charge against Strafford and Laud.

On the same day that the two latter of these resolutions were agreed upon, the Scotch Commissioners presented to the Lords a long and minute charge against the Earl of Strafford and the Archbishop of Canterbury, denouncing them as the two great incendiaries in Church and State, and the cause of all their troubles. The "novations in religion," which were made the groundwork of the charge against the Archbishop, were stated as follows: "(1.) Some particular alterations in matters of religion, pressed upon us without order and against law, contrary to the form established in our kirk. (2.) A new book of canons and constitutions ecclesiastical. (3.) A Liturgy, or Book of Common Prayer; which did also carry with them many dangerous errors in point of doctrine. Of all which we challenge the Prelate of Canterbury as the prime cause on earth."*

So apropos did this formal accusation come, that it is evident that the Scotch Commissioners and the popular orators in the House were acting in concert. Immediately, a conference between the two Houses was held, and it was determined to propose the sequestration of the Archbishop from his offices and power. But this was not sufficient. On Friday, December 18, upon the result of the conference being reported to the Commons, Mr. Grimston rose, and in a bitter speech reviled the Archbishop as "the sty of all pestilential filth that hath infected the state and government of this commonwealth,"

Mr. Grimston accuses Laud of high treason.

* Nalson, i., 681. Laud's *History of his Troubles*, p. 87.

as "a busy, angry wasp, whose sting is in the tail of everything," and ended by accusing him of high treason, and demanding that a message should be sent to the Lords requiring his arrest. Accordingly, Mr. Denzil Hollis, second son of Lord Clare, was sent up to the House of Lords, and there accused William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, of high treason, and required that he should be committed to safe custody. "Upon this charge," says the Archbishop, "I was commanded to withdraw. But I first desired leave to speak a few words, and I spake to this effect: That I was heartily sorry for the offence taken against me, and that I was most unhappy to have mine eyes open to see that day, and mine ears to hear such a charge; but humbly desired their lordships to look upon the whole course of my life, which was such that I did verily persuade myself not one man in the House of Commons did believe in his heart I was a traitor."* This was carped at by Lord Essex and Lord Say, but the House paid the Archbishop the compliment of allowing him to return to Lambeth and arrange his papers, and fetch some books, before he was taken into the custody of the Black Rod. After some little discourse with a few friends, he went into his chapel to evening prayer. "The Psalms for that day," says he, "gave me much comfort, and were observed by some friends then present as well as myself. And upon the comfort I then received, I have every day since (unless some urgent business

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Laud committed to Black Rod.

* *Troubles*, p. 74.

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prevented me) read over both these psalms, and, God willing, purpose to do so every day of my life.* Prayers being ended, I went with Mr. Maxwell, as I was commanded; hundreds of my poor neighbours standing at my gates to see me go, and praying heartily for my safe return to my house; for which I blessed God and them."†

The fall of Laud.

Positions are now reversed. From a disciplinarian persecutor the Archbishop becomes a sufferer. The laity, who had been vexed by his extravagancies, are now banded together in Parliament, and persecute in their turn. Our sympathy changes place also. From being ranged on the side of the zealous pastor, suffering for a conscientious objection to "innovations," or the country gentleman indignant at an inquisitorial discipline, it now passes to the prelate of near seventy years of age, exhausted with toil and care, who is struck down in a moment from the first place in the land, and beholds every face hostile, hears every tongue loosed to rail and gibe. From henceforth we see in the Archbishop the patient and oppressed victim of Puritan spite and Presbyterian rancour. The lying malice of Prynne has given a dignity to his sufferings, and the intolerable injustice of the Parliament even made him a martyr in a righteous cause.

Temper of the Parliament.

In assuming to itself the functions of a court of justice, in summoning, censuring, and punishing

* Psalms xciii. and xciv. No one can fail to perceive how singularly applicable they are to the Bishop's circumstances at that time.

† *Troubles*, p. 74.

individuals, the Parliament had entered on a course from which the most fearful results must of necessity follow. Further, in arrogating an infallibility in religious matters, in setting itself up to judge of doctrines or ceremonies, to declare one right and another in error, and proceeding to deal with clergymen according to this arbitrary standard of its own creating, it had already struck at the very root of the Church. Yet but few of the members were conscious of any definite wish to overthrow the Episcopal Church established in the country. Certainly the shallow arguments of the Presbyterians, labouring to prove that their particular platform was of divine institution, had not convinced any men of sense. The one thing which, on the subject of religion, was uppermost in the minds of the majority of the members, was the desire to abate the nuisance of the new-fashioned discipline introduced by Laud, to humble the pride of the clergy, and to get rid of what they thought an objectionable ceremonialism, and ridiculous "bowing and cringing" in performing the service. Thus they were willing enough to strike at individual men who had made themselves conspicuous, without any wish to overthrow the goodly edifice under which they and their fathers had lived and flourished.* Once embarked, however, as Church reformers, they were constrained to continue in their course. The busy, active clique of Presby-

* See the speeches of Lord Digby, Lord Falkland, Mr. Plydel, and Mr. Grimston, on debate of receiving the London Petition. —Nalson, i., 747-73.

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terians, who had their own ends to serve, hurried them on, and the country gentlemen who had been disgusted with the prying restlessness of the Laudian clergy, were soon seen listening with patience to harangues in favour of the most inquisitorial and obnoxious of all forms of ecclesiastical tyranny.

Its next victims.

That the quarrel of the House of Commons with the clergy was mainly on disciplinarian, not theological, grounds—that they were excited by inquisitorial visitations and consistorial censures,* not by fear of Popery and Arminianism, is shown by the next victims after the Archbishop who felt their power. Wren, Bishop of Ely, and Pierce, Bishop of Bath and Wells, were remarkable beyond all their fellows for the strictness and success of their disciplinarian *régime*.† The diocese of Bath and Wells had, for some years past, been reduced to almost complete conformity, and Wren, after having vigorously attacked the disorders prevalent in Norwich, had been applying all his energy to Ely, and not hesitating to question and censure

* "The stronger sort of Christians can bear mulcts, and imprisonments, and reproaches, without abating their charity or their weakness to their persecutors, but to expect this from all the weak and injudicious, the young and passionate, is against all reason and experience."—Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 14.

† "This fellow (Wren) very peremptorily, one day, as he sat in judicature in the High Commission Court, said openly, he hoped to live to see the time when a Master of Arts, or a minister, should be as good a man as any Jack-gentleman in England. And, verily, the pride of this saucy citizen's son hath been one main cause of the ruin of the clergy."—Lilly's *Observations*, &c., Masere's *Select Tracts*, i., 163.

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some of the more wealthy and important lay spoilers of the Church. Accordingly, within a few days of the committal of the Archbishop to the Tower, Bishops Wren and Pierce were accused by the Commons in the House of Lords, and bound in very heavy bail to answer the charges which should be made against them.* Neither of these bishops were distinguished as theological writers, nor committed to any especial doctrinal errors, but they had been eager upholders of the disciplinarian schemes of the Primate, and were thus especially obnoxious to the country gentlemen.† It was the same spirit which struck at them that voted that the Archbishop should refund the fine levied upon Sir Robert Howard for adultery;‡ the determination to *retaliate* on the Churchmen the irritating attacks which they had made on the laity.

Personal animosity against the clergy.

Sir Edward Dering, in presenting the Kentish petition, complains especially of the "domineering of the clergy," and denounces their "pride, ambition, and oppression," and the preamble of the petition states their government to be "the occasion of manifold grievances to his majesty's subjects, in their consciences, liberties, and estates."§ Had it

* Nalson, i., 692-702.

† "The nobility began to scorn, and the gentry and yeomanry of England extremely to hate, the clergy, for at this present time the High Commission Court, and other —— courts, did most horrible injustice against the persons and estates of any gentleman who by misfortune was brought before them."—Lilly's *Observations*, &c., Masere's *Select Tracts*, i., 162.

‡ Sir P. Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 165. Laud's *History of his Troubles*, p. 146. Proceedings had been taken against Sir R. Howard and Lady Purbeck by the King's express order.

§ Nalson, i., 721.

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not been for the pursuivants and the ecclesiastical courts, for the fines, imprisonment, and excommunication—weapons always perilous in the hands of churchmen—there would not have been the bitter feeling which so eminently displayed itself in this Parliament. Empty declamations against Popery and Arminianism there would have been; hard hits, doubtless, at bowing to the altar, and putting up rails; grave attacks on the iniquity of requiring men to stand up at the *gloria patri** and to turn towards the east, but not the fierce personal animosity against individuals which, in fact, showed itself.

Convocation meets, but soon ceases to act.

Before this determined hostility the clergy quailed. They had met as usual in Convocation, at the opening of the Parliament. A sermon was preached to them, and a prolocutor chosen. The Archbishop, observing the temper of the times, had spoken sadly of the "infelicities which he saw hanging over the Church." There was no business to do; but one of the proctors, Mr. Warmistre, of Worcester, had made himself conspicuous by recommending the desperate course of repealing the canons, which but a few months before they had enacted. The Convocation, however, was not willing thus to stultify itself. Mr. Warmistre made an attempt at popularity by printing his speech, but it was remarked afterwards, that he came in for the same measure of sequestration as the other clergy. Meantime, Parliament showed their slight regard for Convocation, by

* This appears in all the petitions as one of the grievances.

summoning Archdeacon Laifield to answer for "innovations," and when he pleaded his privilege as a member of Convocation, contemptuously ignoring it. The Archbishop's arrest soon followed, and both Upper and Lower House saw themselves threatened, and might easily believe that their continuing to act as a Convocation would embitter the Commons against them. The attendance, therefore, gradually dwindled away, and the clergy consulted their safety by retiring to their country cures.* Chap. XVIII. 1641.

Yet, in the midst of the attacks which came upon them from every side, Churchmen were not as yet left altogether without encouragement. A congregation of Anabaptists, somewhat premature in their boldness, had been apprehended in the Parish of St. Saviour's, and being taken before Sir John Lenthal, had boldly pleaded against the Statute of Elizabeth, which enforced attendance at the parish church, arguing that it was not a true law, as it was made by the bishops, that the parish churches were not true churches, and that the King could not make a perfect law, as he was not a perfect man. The House of Lords did not, as yet, quite understand such views as these, and the sectaries were admonished and threatened; at the same time an order was made as follows:— "That the Divine service be performed as it is appointed by the Acts of Parliament of this realm; and that all such as shall disturb this whole- Slight encouragements to the Church.

* Fuller's *Church History*, xi., iii., 30. Kennett's *Complete History*, iii., 104.

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some order, shall be severely punished according to law; and that the parsons, vicars, and curates in the several parishes, shall forbear to introduce any rites or ceremonies that may give offence, otherwise than those which are established by the law of the land."* This, indeed, was no very strong advocacy of the cause of the Church, but it was something in the light of a check to the prevailing temper, and as such it was received by the King, who sent a message of thanks to the House for passing it.

Clergymen sent for by the Commons.

The informations so plentifully made against the clergy were some for sermons preached many years ago, some for the alleged crime of having used a ceremony with which they had no power to dispense; yet, whatever their nature, all the accused were sent for by the House.† Such a summons involved, at the least, very great expenses and serious inconvenience, and gross and crying injustice was often inflicted upon the clergy thereby. Informations were received as proofs, and sentence passed before the case was investigated.

King's speech

The King saw the evil, and made an attempt to arrest it. In his speech at the banquetting house (January 25), he complains to Parliament that

* Nalson, i., 727, passed Jan. 18, 1641.

† "The basest mechanic's hand to a petition, so it were against a clergyman, was received with favour, and with Mr. Speaker's thanks for their love to the Parliament, and could bring upon any minister of Christ more chargeable and vexatious summons and attendance on the Parliament and committees, and oftentimes longer imprisonment, than the report and testimonials of all the other better parishioners could free him from."—*Persecutio Undecima*, p. 10. See Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, i., 551.

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"Petitions were in an ill way given in, neither disputed or denied." He declares himself ready to reform all innovations, and to bring back things as they were under Queen Elizabeth, and he feels aggrieved, therefore, that the House should entertain petitions against the established government of the Church, and full "of great threatenings against the bishops," for though ready to reform, he declares himself fully resolved not to alter. "If, upon serious debate, you shall show that bishops have some temporal authority inconvenient to the state, and not so necessary for the government of the Church, and upholding episcopal jurisdiction, I shall not be unwilling to desire them to lay it down; but this must not be understood that I shall any way consent that their voices in Parliament should be taken away, for in all the times of my predecessors since the Conquest, and before, they have enjoyed it. I am bound to maintain them in it as one of the fundamental constitutions of this kingdom."*

Aggressions of the Commons.

But, on the other side, the Commons were being constantly urged on by the busy and unscrupulous clique which already contemplated a complete revolution. The House had sanctioned intolerably unjust aggressions upon the Church, not only by condemning individual clergymen on *ex parte* and prejudiced statements, but also by authorising commissions to go into all the counties of England, to "deface, demolish, and quite take away, all images,

* Nalson, i., 735. Rushworth, iii., i., 154. Whitelocke, p. 38.

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altars, or tables turned altarwise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, *monuments*, and relics of idolatry, out of all churches and chapels."* What decency of worship was any longer possible under such a rule as this? Even if the commissioners were themselves moderate and respectable men, yet the mere fact of such a commission having been appointed, would at once set in motion the rabble, to lay profane hands on everything sacred. And this, in fact, was the case. "Another thing," says May, an impartial writer on the side of the Parliament, "which seemed to trouble some who were not bad men, was that extreme license which the common people, almost from the very beginning of the Parliament, took to themselves of reforming, without authority, order, or decency; rudely disturbing Church service while the Common Prayer was reading; tearing their books, surplices, and such things; which the Parliament did not so far restrain as was expected or desired by those men."† "I beseech you consider," says Mr. Plydel, in the debate on the London petition, "what irreverence in churches, what profanation of God's service, to the scandal of Christianity, the reproach of religion, and the intolerable grief of all good men!"‡

Outrages in public worship.

Many members of the House, ready though

* Rushworth, iii., i., 153. "How far, and upon what emergent occasions, the House of Commons, which are but one third of the legislature, may lawfully appoint commissioners to put the laws in execution, without the consent of the other two, I must leave with the reader."—Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 318.

† May's *History of the Parliament*, p. 75.

‡ Nalson, i., 767.

Difference of opinion shows itself in Parliament.

they had been, and still were, to join in attacks upon the obnoxious disciplinarians and innovators, began to see where matters were drifting, and to express their opposition. Selden, the most eminent man in the House for learning, and one who had tasted the bitterness of oppression, both civil and ecclesiastical, was bold and honest enough to ridicule the notion of the Parliament assuming to judge in matters of religion.* Some sixteen ministers had presented a petition (which *is said* to have been signed by seven hundred beneficed clergy) and a remonstrance against the abuses of episcopal government;† and Mr. Grimston commenting upon it, enunciated complacently, "That bishops are *jure divino*, is a question. That archbishops are not *jure divino*, is out of question. Now, that bishops which are questioned whether *jure divino*, or archbishops, which out of question are not *jure divino*, should suspend ministers that are *jure divino*, I leave to you, Mr. Speaker." To which Mr. Selden answered: "That the Convocation is *jure divino*, is a question. That Parliaments are not *jure divino*, is out of question. That religion is *jure divino*, there is no question. Now that the Convocation which is questionable whether *jure divino*, and Parliaments which out of question are not *jure divino*, should meddle with religion, which questionless is *jure divino*, I leave to you, Mr. Speaker." Mr. Grimston not liking

* The Presbyterians were very indignant with Selden. Baillie calls him "the avowed proctor of the bishops."—*Journal*, i., 245.

† Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 345.

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to be thus put down, thought to mend matters by replying, "But archbishops are not bishops, Mr. Speaker." "Then," replied his shrewd antagonist, "Judges are no lawyers, Mr. Speaker."* On the 9th of February, Alderman Pennington's great petition, with its 15,000 signatures against episcopal government, came on for consideration.

Lord Digby's speech.

Lord Digby opposed its reception, on the ground of the irrational nature of the charges it brought against the bishops, and also that it denounced a form of Church government, which was sanctioned by Act of Parliament. He professed himself as keen a Church reformer as any in the House, and as great a hater of the abuses of discipline lately practised by the bishops; but to abolish episcopacy because of the faults of individuals, was like abolishing wine because of drunkenness. "Mr. Speaker," said he, "we all agree in this, that a reformation of Church government is necessary; but, sir, to strike at the root, to attempt a total alteration, before ever I can give my vote unto that, three things must be made manifest unto me. First, that the mischiefs, which we have felt under episcopal government, flow from the nature of the function, not from the abuses of it only. (2.) Such a frame of government must be laid before us, as no time, no corruption can make liable to like inconveniences. (3.) It must be made to appear that this Utopia is practicable.....Let us not destroy bishops, but make bishops such as they were in the

* Nalson, i., 744. Rushworth, iii., i., 165. Selden was an Erastian in his views, but in favour of moderate episcopacy.

primitive times."* This eminently sensible speech was opposed by Mr. Fiennes, with the Presbyterian arguments against bishops, but supported by a brilliant speech from the learned Lord Falkland, who, denouncing the late Church discipline quite as strongly as Lord Digby, nevertheless contended for the episcopal functions, and of some of the present bishops testified that "in an unexpected and mighty place and power, they expressed an equal moderation and humility. Some have been learned opposers of Popery and Arminianism, between whom and their inferior clergy in frequency of preaching, there hath been no distinction; whose lives are untouched not only by guilt but by malice, scarce to be equall'd by those of any condition, or to be excell'd by those in any calendar." The reception given by the House to these speeches, convinced the Presbyterian faction that their time was not yet come. As yet, in fact, the House was rather full of *disciplinary* Puritans, than *doctrinal ones*.† It was a struggle between the great body of the members who simply were for abating what they held to be grievances in ecclesiastical government, and the small but determined party who were resolved to overthrow the Church at any cost. Dr. Pocklington had made himself so conspicuous in the discipline and ceremony disputes, both on the matter of the Sunday sports and the altarwise table, that his censure proves nothing more than that the House was still mindful of recent animosities. His books were ordered to be

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Lord Falkland's speech.

Majority of the House merely for abating grievances.

* Nalson, i., 751. † Fuller, xi., iii., 51.

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publicly burnt in the City of London, he was deprived of all ecclesiastical benefices, and disabled from holding any place of dignity in Church or Commonwealth.* There were also some attacks made on Bishops Montagu and Mainwaring,† men especially obnoxious on account of their former censures, and the prohibition which Parliament had pronounced against their promotion. Still, however, the form which aggression took, was not against the Church, as such, but against some of the accidents of its position at that particular time.

Measures against secular power of the clergy.

Thus, at the beginning of March, a commission was appointed to arrange for putting out all clergymen from the commission of the peace; and on the 10th it was voted, "That the legislative and judicial power of bishops in the House of Peers in Parliament is a great hindrance to the discharge of their spiritual functions, prejudicial to the commonwealth, and fit to be taken away by Bill;" and on the 26th, "That for archbishops, or any other clergymen whatsoever, to have employment as privy-counsellors, or in temporal offices, is a hindrance to the discharge of their spiritual functions, and prejudicial to the commonwealth, and fit to be taken away." The obnoxious topic of the temporal power of the clergy being thus kept in the fore-

* Dr. Pocklington's books were called *Sunday no Sabbath*, and *The Christian Altar*. Dr. Bray, the Archbishop's chaplain, had licensed these books, and was joined with Pocklington in the sentence. Fuller says both the doctors soon after died of grief, but Heylin reports, from his own knowledge, that Pocklington lived more than two, and Bray more than four, years after this censure.—Collier's *Church Hist.*, viii., 194. Fuller, xi., iii., 33.

† Nalson, i., 779.

ground by those who had ulterior and more sweeping designs, the House went easily onwards in its quarrel with the Church.

Archbishop Laud committed to the Tower.

Meanwhile, another act had passed in the proceedings against the Primate. After having been kept for ten weeks in the house of Mr. Maxwell, the Usher of the Black Rod,* he was summoned to the House of Lords to hear the articles of impeachment which had been sent up from the Commons by Sir Henry Vane. These were fourteen in number, and merely stated the general accusations against him. The Commons asked for time to prepare their more particular charges, and that the Archbishop might, in the meantime, be kept in security. Laud made a speech declaring his innocence, and especially expressing his pain at being charged with "having his heart at Rome, and labouring by all cunning ways to bring Romish superstition in upon the kingdom." Three days afterwards, he was conveyed in Mr. Maxwell's carriage to the Tower, followed by a mob, yelling and shouting in the delirium of gratified hatred.†

Committee for religion in the House of Lords.

On the same day that the Archbishop was conveyed to the Tower, a committee for religion was named in the House of Lords. It was to consist of ten earls, ten barons, and ten bishops. Archbishop Laud remarks upon the constitution of it. "The lay votes will be double to the clergy, so that

* He was obliged to pay, in fees for his "diet and custody," the very large sum of twenty nobles a day, which amounted, during the ten weeks of his detention, to £466 13s. 4d.

† *History of his Troubles*, pp. 148, 174.

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they may carry what they will for truth."* This committee was of a different complexion from those which had been acting in the House of Commons since the commencement of the session. It did not apply itself, like they did, to inquire into the past exercises of ecclesiastical discipline, to censure clergymen who had made themselves especially conspicuous, and to act as a tribunal of vengeance for the misdeeds of the hierarchy. It was the first formal movement towards a reconsideration of the whole doctrinal *status* of the Church of England, and was essentially a Presbyterian motion. It was known that Bishop Williams, the chairman of the commission, was not opposed to certain changes in formularies and ritual. But the *animus* of it is more clearly shown by the circular which it issued to certain divines who were invited to aid it with their learning and advice, and especially by the names of those to whom the circular was addressed. Among these, we find the names of Mr. Shute, Dr. Twisse, Mr. Calamy, Dr. Burgess, Mr. White, Mr. Marshall; all men of Puritanical views, and afterwards members of the Assembly. The circular stated that the divine addressed had been chosen as assistant by the committee of the Lords for innovations in matters of religion, and informed him that their lordships intended to examine all innovations in doctrine or discipline introduced into the Church without law *since the Reformation*, and, "if their lordships shall in their judgments find it behoveful for the good of the Church

Its character.

* *Troubles*, p. 174.

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and State, to examine after that the degrees and perfection *of the Reformation itself*. Which I am to intimate to you, that you may prepare your thoughts, studies, and meditations accordingly, expecting their lordships pleasure for the particular points as they shall arise."* The only bishops, besides Williams, who appear to have acted upon this commission, were Bishops Hall and Morton, and the learned Primate of Ireland. All these were men of moderate views. Bishop Hall had indeed contended stoutly for the Divine right of episcopacy, but his was a disposition peculiarly inclined to comprehension and concession, as was in a still more decided way that of Usher.

Temptations to compromise.

Indeed, the staunchest churchman might have been tempted to compromise in view of the imminent peril which now threatened the Church.† Hostile factions were day by day more openly developing their policy. The House of Commons was being led onwards by a few turbulent spirits, and having

* Laud's *Troubles*, p. 174. Hacket's *Williams*, ii., 147. Fuller's *Church History*, xi., iii., 46.

† It would appear that even Archbishop Laud was desirous to admit a compromise. "Though their designs seemed not reasonable to the King and the learned Dr. Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury, and many others; yet to quiet their consciences, and to prevent future confusion, they did, in the year 1641, desire Dr. Sanderson to call two more of the convocation to advise with him, and that he would then draw up some such safe alterations as he thought fit in the service-book, and abate some of the ceremonies that were least material for satisfying their consciences; and to this end he and two others did meet together privately twice a week at the Dean of Westminster's house, for the space of five months or more."—Walton's *Sanderson*, Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 420.

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been excited to begin as Church reformers, would evidently find it very hard to stop. Now, if ever, was the time for those who really loved their Church, and had the cause of true religion most deeply at heart, to try if possible to effect something by moderate concessions. Thus Dr. Hacket says of Williams, and those who acted with him: "They found no way but to let them who were distasteful with the Church for certain things have somewhat granted that they asked for, to let suspicions pass for proofs, and any point of a dubious sense for a kind of error—as they that raise a blister where there was none before, to prepare a cure for preventing an apoplexy."*

Proceedings of the committee.

The committee met in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster, and had six sittings before their labours were interrupted. On each day of meeting they were plentifully feasted by Bishop Williams, always distinguished by his splendid hospitality. They took into consideration, in the first place, innovations in doctrine. Under this head they noted and condemned passages in books written by members of the Church of England, "and here some complained," says Fuller, "that all the tenets of the Council of Trent had, by one or other, been preached and printed."† In the second place, they considered innovations in discipline, or preter-canonical conformity, as some called it. And under this head they condemned candlesticks on the communion table, canopies over the space enclosed by rails, the use of a credentia or side-table, and

* Hacket's *Williams*, ii., 147. † Fuller, xi., iii., 37.

the carrying of infants after baptism to the altar, to dedicate them to God.* In the third place, they considered the Book of Common Prayer, and debated whether it were not fit that the lessons should be only out of canonical Scripture, the Epistles, Gospels, Psalms, and Hymns to be read in the new translation. Whether times prohibited for marriage should not be totally taken away, and the marriage service be altered and amended.† "Their exceptions against our Liturgy," says Hacket, "were petty and stale, older than the old Exchange."‡ The fourth head was to be ecclesiastical government. Upon this the Bishop of Lincoln had undertaken to draw up a scheme, but he either wanted time or inclination to finish it, and it was not discussed.§ The sittings of this committee continued till the middle of May, when the bringing of the Root and Branch Bill into the House of Commons, showed that the quarrel had become too embittered for any moderate measures to compose it, and exasperated the divines of different views against one another.‖ Thus the meetings were discontinued without any practical result arising from them, and the Church escaped a great danger.¶

Happily abandoned.

* Fuller, xi., iii., 48.

† For the various other alterations, both verbal and ceremonial, proposed, see Dr. Cardwell's *History of Conferences*, p. 241.

‡ Hacket's *Williams*, ii., 147.

§ The scheme begun for this committee, was afterwards brought by Williams as a bill into the House of Lords.

‖ Fuller, xi., iii., 52.

¶ "It is more than probable that its continuance would not have been of advantage to the Church, and that dangerous concessions would have been made to the Puritan party."—Elrington's *Life of Usher*, p. 229, note.

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There could not, indeed, have been much reality or sincerity in the discussions. At the very time that Dr. Burgess was sitting on the committee with the bishops, for devising moderate changes, he was also the president of another committee of a more secret character, which was constantly employed in drawing up petitions to be forwarded to all the counties in England, to obtain signatures against Episcopacy and the Liturgy.* These were speedily returned to the House of Commons with numerous names appended; but so eager were the Presbyterians in the attack, that they were not satisfied to observe even the form of a lawful petition. One Henry Walker, a stationer, was convicted of manufacturing petitions against Episcopacy, and publishing them as true ones.†

Manufacture of petitions against the Church.

Progress of measures against the Church.

Meantime, various orders were, from time to time, made by the House, regulating discipline, ceremonies, &c., as well as occasionally an order to restrain the wild outbursts of fanaticism which everywhere assailed the orthodox clergy in the performance of their duties. A Bill against Bishops and Clergy exercising any temporal jurisdiction was hastily passed through the House of Commons, as also a Bill for fining the members of the late Convocation. Still the extreme party were not satisfied with their progress.‡ They appointed solemn fasts to humble themselves on account of the little they had done; and, at the instance of Sir John Wray and Mr. Pym, the House took a protestation or

* Nalson, i., 799. † *Ibid.*, i., 795.
‡ Clarendon's *History of Rebellion*, p. 93.

covenant, binding themselves to maintain the true Reformed Protestant religion expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England * against all Popery and Popish innovation, and also to uphold the rights of Parliaments and to bring to condign punishment all who had opposed them.† The bill for taking away the bishops' votes in Parliament, and excluding clergymen from the commission of the peace, was thrown out in the House of Lords with considerable warmth—the Lords treating it as an invasion of their privileges.‡ "This unexpected and unimagined act," says Lord Clarendon, "cast such a damp upon the spirits of the governing party in both houses, that they knew not what to do; they were not now sure that they should be

* This was an insidious motion, and the friends of the Church were entrapped by it.

"The words were afterwards explained to apply merely to the public doctrine professed in the Church, and not to be extended to the maintaining of any form of worship, discipline, or government, nor of rites and ceremonies."—Rushworth, iii., i., 273.

Those who were well affected to the Church in the House of Commons, "thought that they had obliged the rigid reformers from any attempt at the alteration of the government of the Church, when they had once bound themselves to maintain and defend the Protestant religion expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England; there being no other scheme of the doctrine of the Church of England than the thirty-nine Articles, of which one is to preserve the government of the Church by bishops."—Clarendon, p. 101.

† Nalson, i., 810.

‡ In this debate, Viscount Newark pleaded earnestly for the bishops. "The holiness of their calling, their knowledge, their freedom from passions and affections to which youth is very obnoxious, their vicinity to the gates of death, which, though not shut to any, yet always stand wide open to old age—all these, my lords, will surely make them steer aright."—Nalson, ii., 254.

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able to carry anything, for the major part which threw out this bill might cross them in anything, besides the influence it would have in the House of Commons and everywhere else; for they very well knew how many of their followers, therefore followed them because they would carry all before them." * It was necessary for the leaders of the aggressive faction to make a bold and sudden stroke to retrieve their credit with their party. They prepared, consequently, a very short, but very sharp, bill "for the utter eradication of bishops, deans, and chapters; with all chancellors, officials, and all officers and other persons belonging to either of them." † To give this bill extra weight, it was thought desirable to get it introduced by some moderate man; and for this purpose Sir E. Dering, member for Kent, was pitched upon. Known not to be opposed to Episcopacy as a form of Church Government, nor favourable to the Presbyterian platform, but yet made conspicuous and popular by some attacks on the late proceedings of the bishops, Sir Edward was in every way a fit man for the task, which well suited also his natural vanity.‡ He himself afterwards repented of having been made a catspaw to bring in a measure to which,

Bringing in of the Root and Branch Bill.

* Clarendon, p. 95. Sir P. Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 185.

† May, p. 21. Clarendon's *Rebellion*, p. 95. Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 356.

‡ Clarendon's *Rebellion*, p. 95. Clarendon says that Sir Edward's principal motive was to deliver himself of a quotation from Ovid, which he thought extremely apt:

> "Cuncta prius tentanda, sed immedicabile vulnus
> Ense recidendum ne pars sincera trahatur."

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in reality, he was opposed, and thus endeavours to explain it:—"The bill for the abolition of our present Episcopacy was pressed into my hand by Sir Arthur Hazlerig, being then brought unto him by Sir H. Vane and Mr. O. Cromwell. He told me that he was resolved it should go in, but was earnestly urgent that I should present it. The bill did hardly stay in my hand so long as to make a hasty perusal. Whilst I was overviewing it, Sir Edward Aiscough presented a petition out of Lincolnshire, which was seconded by Mr. Strode, in such a sort, as that I had a fair invitement to issue forth the bill then in my hand."* The reading of the bill was opposed by Mr. Hyde, on the technical ground that no notice had been given of it. He was, however, overruled in this, and the bill was read a first time, most members thinking that nothing more would be heard of it, and that it was only intended as a demonstration against the Lords.†

Dr. Hacket and Dr. Burgess admitted to argue.

Dr. Hacket was admitted to the House of Commons to argue in favour of deans and chapters, as against this bill; and contended that they conduced to the glory of God, the advancement of true religion and piety, the encouragement of learning, and good of the commonwealth; that, in Queen Elizabeth's time, the most learned divines were placed in cathedral churches who preached two

* Sir E. Dering's *Speeches on Religion*, p. 63. Nalson, ii., 247.

† "Many out of curiosity desiring to hear it read, and more to show the Lords that they would not abate their mettle."—Clarendon, u. s.

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sermons every Lord's day, and in every week a lecture, that grammar schools were maintained by the revenue of cathedrals; that these appointments were the rewards of learning, and that upon their demolition nothing but a chaos of ignorance and profanity would follow. These arguments were answered by Dr. Burgess in the Presbyterian interest;* and, on May 27, the second reading of the bill introduced by Sir E. Dering was discussed. A great debate arose, and during the progress of it there came a message from the Lords to say that they would now be ready to accept the former bill which the Commons had sent up, excepting only the clause which took away the bishops' votes in Parliament.† To this the Commons replied by voting the second reading of the new, and far more sweeping, bill.‡ On June 11, the House was in

Commons vote second reading.

* Rushworth, iii., i., 270.

† A few days after, this point was discussed in a conference between the two Houses. The Lords argued that the bishops had right to vote by the common and statute law, and by ancient practice, and that they did not see any evil in the privilege. The Commons contended that it was a great hindrance to their ministerial function, which they had vowed at their ordination to give themselves wholly to. That it was forbidden by councils and canons. That their dignity being only for life, they are not fit to have legislative power. That they are dependent on the archbishops, and still more on the Crown. That they have, of late, much encroached on the consciences and liberties of the subject, and are not fit to be judges in the appeals made against themselves. That their position, as Lords of Parliament, makes too great a distance between them and the other clergy.—Rushworth, iii., i., 281. Nalson, ii., 259. See Sir P. Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 184.

‡ Ayes, 139; Noes, 108.—Nalson. "I suspect," says Mr. Hallam, "the greater part of those who voted for it did not intend more than to intimidate the bishops."—*Constitutional History*, i., 527.

committee on this bill from seven in the morning till night, and voted the preamble in these words: "Whereas the Government of the Church of England, by archbishops and bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical officers, hath been found by long experience to be a great impediment to the perfect reformation and growth of religion, and very prejudicial to the state and government of this kingdom." And on the 15th it voted further, "That all deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, prebendaries, chanters, canons and petty canons, and their officers, shall be utterly abolished and taken away out of the Church." * In the debate, one sapient member argued against Church-music, because "he did find in his reading, that anno 666, the year that was designed or computed for the coming of anti-Christ, Vitalian, Bishop of Rome, brought to the Church singing of service and the use of organs, which work men's bane, like the deadly touch of the aspis, in a tickling delight;" and Mr. Pury, the member for Gloucester, made a fierce attack upon cathedral bodies, because of the abuses which, he averred, prevailed at Gloucester. "It is notoriously known to the City of Gloucester," said he, "that not one of their statutes are or ever were, during my remembrance, kept, or the matters contained in any of them performed by any of the deans or prebends of the said cathedral. They come indeed once a year to receive the rents and profits of their lands, but do not distribute unto

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Vote against deans and chapters.

* Rushworth, iii., i., 283—285. Nalson, ii., 282, sq.

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the poor and needy their portion, neglecting altogether the mending of the highways and bridges, and do not keep any common table at all; and instead of preaching the Word of God in season and out of season, they are, and have been, the chief instruments to hinder the same in others."*

House not against Episcopacy.

Yet in spite of the triumph which the Presbyterian party had gained over deans and chapters, the House was as yet by no means in a mood to vote the abolition of Episcopacy. When the committee sat again,† June 21, Sir Edward Dering, the mover of the bill, declared that in his judgment there was no form of Church government tolerable unless there were constantly one to guide and direct the rest. He wished that in every shire there might be a bishop or president, assisted by a body of twelve divines, but with a superiority over them. "If this bishop," says he, "were not of Apostolical institution, yet it is undeniable that he was of Apostolical permission. For of, and in the Apostolical times, all stories, all fathers, all ages, have agreed that such bishops there were." He would away with the lordly domineerer who plays the monarch, perhaps the tyrant, in a diocese; he would "down with the prelatical hierarchy, but

* Rushworth, iii., i., 289. Nalson, ii., 289.

† Mr. Hyde was a chairman of the committee, and did all he could to retard the progress of the bill. The enemies of the bishops were very eager; the friends, as usual, somewhat lukewarm. Thus Lord Falkland used to say, "They who hated bishops, hated them worse than the devil; and that they who loved them, did not love them so well as their dinner."—Clarendon, p. 110.

*eâ lege*, on that condition, that with the same hand, in the same bill, we do gently raise again such an Episcopacy, as is venerable in its antiquity and purity, and most behoveful for the peace of our Christendom."

At this stage of the discussion, Sir B. Rudyard, who had been one of the foremost in demanding Church reform and decrying abuses, delivered an admirable speech. He said, "I do confess that some of our bishops have had ambitious and dangerous aims, but I am not of their opinion who believe that there is an innate ill quality in Episcopacy like a specifical property. Bishops have governed the Church for 1500 years without interruption, and no man will say but that God hath saved souls all that time under their government .....Let us beware that we do not look with a worldly carnal eye upon Church lands.....We are strict and curious to uphold our own propriety, and there is great reason for it. Are the clergy only a sort of men who have no propriety in that which is called theirs? If we pull down bishoprics and pull down cathedral churches, in a short time we must be forced to pull colleges, too; and the example we are making will be an easy temptation to the less pressing necessities of future times. This is the next way to bring in barbarism to make the clergy an unlearned, contemptible vocation; not to be desired but by the basest of the people, and then where shall we find men able to convince an adversary? Mr. Hyde, I am as much for reformation, for purging and maintaining religion, as any

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man, but I profess I am not for innovation, demolition, or abolition." *

This was, without doubt, the feeling of the majority of the members at this time, very nearly coinciding with the King's own feeling, as he had expressed it to the House; but there was a powerful and increasing party who would, by no means, be satisfied with such a moderate reform as this.†

King abolishes Star-Chamber and High Commission Courts.

On July 5, the King gave his assent to the bills for the abolition of the Star-Chamber and High Commission Courts, and these legal monstrosities ceased to exist.‡ The powers exercised in these Courts had been the immediate and most evident cause of the ruin which was now threatening the Church. The disciplinarian bishops unfortunately had these ready weapons within their reach, and they used them unsparingly, till even the best friends of the Church were exasperated against them; and when the Commons retaliated by similar illegal extravagances, they were tolerated and applauded.

Bishops Wren and Pierce impeached.

On July 20, articles of impeachment were carried up to the Lords against Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, and late of Norwich. Twenty-eight heads of

* Nalson, ii., 299. Thus, too, Sergeant Thomas, one of the most violent declaimers against Bishops, says, "I pray you misconceive me not. I am not against Episcopacy, truly understood; or a Church Government, rightly used."—Nalson, ii., 223. And Sir P. Warwick, a member of this Parliament: "Their order was planted by the Apostles, and unquestionably has continued in the Church from the Apostles' times unto this day." —*Memoirs*, p. 185.

† See Hallam's *Constitutional History*, i., 526.

‡ Clarendon's *Rebellion*, p. 113.

alleged abuses and illegalities were urged against him, some of which are sufficiently frivolous. Thus, he is charged with "advancing blind superstition, by ordering all the pews in churches to be placed looking the same way, and that the minister should read the second service at the communion-table; for interfering with the ringing of bells, and prohibiting extemporary prayer in the service, &c."* It seems a more serious charge than these, if it be true as alleged, that he sold the profits of his primary visitation for five hundred pounds, that by his persecutions he drove away the foreign artizans who had settled in Norfolk, and that he exercised an altogether tyrannical discipline over his clergy.† The Bishop of Ely was committed to the Tower, and, ten days afterwards, articles were reported against Dr. Pierce, Bishop of Bath and Wells. It was not to be expected that this active disciplinarian, and stern foe to Puritans, would be allowed to escape free. A Mr. James, a Somersetshire clergyman who had been censured by him, was entertained in the house of Mr. Pym, and gave information against the Bishop for having animadverted on him for preaching two sermons in his church on

* It would appear to have been the practice to introduce extemporary prayer into the Liturgy when sick persons were prayed for. Bishop Wren is said to have ordered, "That no prayer shall be made in the pulpit for the sick, and that such as are prayed for in the reading-desk, should be prayed for only in the two collects prescribed for the visitation of the sick in private houses."—Rushworth, iii., i., 352.

† Rushworth, iii., i., 351, sq. May's *Hist. of Parliament*, p. 74. See the account of the Visitation, on which most of these charges are based.—Vol. i., chap. xv.

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Michaelmas Day, "to the great disturbance and hindrance of the sale of the Church-ale, as his lordship pretended;" also for illegal proceedings in the election of clerks for Convocation, and for tyranny and injustice exercised towards him for having said in a sermon, that "some put the Scriptures in a staged dress."* Whether these charges were true or not, it did not much matter; at any rate, they were acceptable to those who were conducting the contest against the Church, for the great object of the Presbyterian faction was to intimidate the bishops, and make them ready to shrink from their perilous work in Parliament of their own accord, as there was not much probability of their being able, at present, to wrest their privileges from them in a legal way. Thus, an eager attempt was made to impeach thirteen of them for high treason, for having taken part on the late Convocation,† a proceeding which its Presbyterian promoters could not have ever seriously imagined that they could bring to a successful issue.

Attempts to intimidate the bishops.

In the midst of these schemes, the King's resolve to set out for Scotland in the beginning of August, sadly disconcerted their plans. They were obliged to

* Nalson, ii., 413.

† "They would first have accused them (the bishops) of treason; but that not appearing feasible, they thought best to indite them of very high crimes and offences, which was prosecuted with great earnestness by some prime lawyers in the House of Commons, and entertained with like fervency by some zealous lords in the House of Peers: the Archbishop of York aggravating Mr. Maynard's criminations to the utmost, not without some interspersions of his own."—Bishop Hall's *Hard Measure*, Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 296.

discontinue their "beloved bill" against episcopacy, to "lay aside their disputes on the Church, which every day became more involved,"* and to give their whole attention to more pressing affairs of state. Chap. XVIII. 1641.

The session came to an end without anything definite having been done, except the censures and punishments inflicted upon individual clergymen, and some irregular measures taken to abolish the ceremonial which had been introduced with so much pains by the Archbishop.† The most important of these was upon September 9, when the House of Commons voted a declaration, that "whereas divers innovations in or about the worship of God have been lately practised in this kingdom, by enjoining some things and prohibiting others, without warrant of law, to the great grievance and discontent of his majesty's subjects. For the suppression of such innovations, and for preservation of the public peace, it is this day ordered, by the Commons in Parliament assembled, that the churchwardens of every parish do forthwith remove the Orders against the ceremonial.

* Clarendon, *Rebellion*, p. 110.

† September 2. "The House had great debate about the Common Prayer, to have some alteration made therein, which being suddenly started, gave occasion of a very hot debate, and Mr. Hyde, and others, spake much in opposition to the motion, desiring the book of Common Prayer might be continued as it is, without alteration, and observed with reverence.

"September 6. The House ordered that it shall be lawful for the parishioners of any parish in the kingdom of England or dominion of Wales, to set up a lecture, and to maintain an orthodox minister at their own charge, to preach every Lord's Day where there is no preaching, and to preach one day in every week, where there is no weekly lecture."—Rushworth, iii., i., 305. Nalson, ii., 477. Clarendon, p. 117.

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communion table from the east of the church, chapel, or chancel, into some other convenient place, and that they take away the rails and level the chancels as heretofore they were before the late innovations.* That all crucifixes, scandalous pictures, of any one or more persons of the Trinity, and all images of the Virgin Mary, shall be taken away and abolished,† and that all tapers, candlesticks, and basins be removed from the communion table. That all corporal bowing at the name (Jesus), or towards the east end of the church, or towards the communion table, be henceforth forborne. That the Lord's Day be duly observed and sanctified, all dancing, and other sports, either before or after Divine service, be forborne and restrained, and that the preaching of God's Word be permitted in the afternoon in the several churches and chapels in this kingdom, and that ministers and preachers be encouraged thereunto."‡ The Lords being invited to concur in this declaration, declined, and referred the Commons to their former order, "That the Divine service should be performed as it is appointed by the Acts of Parliament of this realm; and that all such as shall disturb that wholesome order shall be severely punished."

Lords refuse to agree.

* "Having thus dealt with persons, they proceed to things, and every decency in the Church is set forth as a superstition, and every rule of order in the outward worship of God is branded as an oppression brought upon Christian liberty."—Sir P. Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 174.

† For the proceedings under this order at Kidderminster, see Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 40; and at Chelmsford, *Mercurius Rusticus*, p. 23. See also Evelyn's *Diary*, i., 55.

‡ Rushworth, iii., i., 386.

"By this time," says May, "many jealousies began to arise in the hearts of the people concerning the Parliament. Bishops had been much lifted at, though not yet taken away, whereby a great party, whose livelihood and fortune depended on them, and, far more, whose hopes of preferment looked that way, began to be daily more disaffected to the Parliament.....To this were added those daily reports of ridiculous conventicles and preachings made by tradesmen and illiterate people of the lowest rank, to the scandal and offence of many."*

Petitions in favour of the Church.

The country had indeed testified its opinions by numerous petitions against the Church-government, ceremonies, &c., but on the other side petitions were coming in, scarcely less numerous. From the two Universities, from Wales, Lancashire, Staffordshire, Rutlandshire, and other counties, they came, subscribed with not less than 100,000 signatures, of which some 6,000 were nobility, gentry, and beneficed clergy.†

Reaction.

A decided reaction had declared itself‡ in the country, and had there been any man in power of sufficient boldness, energy and skill; had the King been better advised, or himself more prudent, many of the sad events which followed might yet have been avoided.

* May's *History of the Parliament*, p. 75. See Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 314-15.

† Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 331. Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*. Bishop Hall's *Hard Measure*, Nalson, ii., 656.

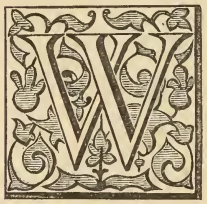
‡ Hallam, *Cons. Hist.*, i., 529.

## CHAPTER XIX.

Chap. XIX. 1641.

Attainder of Strafford—Bishops give up their right of voting on the Bill—Base conduct of Williams in Strafford's case—Conduct of Archbishop Usher—Bishop Juxon—Death of Strafford—Williams brings in his Compromise as a Bill—Not pleasing to either party—Controversy on episcopacy—Milton as a controversialist—King's concessions in Scotland — Explanations published—Filling up of the vacant Sees—Discontent at the appointments—State of affairs at the reopening of Parliament—Mr. Pym's report—Illegality of the order against ceremonial—The Remonstrance—Remarks on it—Popular tumults encouraged—Cry of "No Bishops"—Bishops decline to abandon their Parliamentary right—Terrorism practised against them—Bishop Hall's account—Their protest—Published by the Lord Keeper—Bishops charged with high treason—Committed to the Tower—Conduct of Archbishop Williams—Bill to take away bishops' votes in Parliament passed—Its effect—Impolicy of the King—Petitions in favour of episcopacy—King's answer to remonstrances—Causes of the success of the Presbyterians.

Attainder of Strafford.



E must now, for a short time, return to an earlier period in the session, to notice some events which have been designedly omitted in the previous chapter. The attempt at impeaching Strafford having conspicuously failed, and Pym and his friends being foiled by the gallant and skilful defence which he had made, resort was had to the device of attainting him by Act of Parliament. This plan

easily allowed rancorous malice to take the place of judicial equity—and his enemies were able to force the bill through the Houses. In vain did Selden, the oldest and most illustrious of the friends of liberty, Lord Digby, and Lord Falkland, men of noble and chivalrous spirits, and the keen and outspoken foes of all abuses, oppose this great crime; it passed the House of Commons with only fifty-nine dissentients, and, after a greater struggle, the House of Lords. The bishops had left their places and abandoned their votes on this occasion. The enemies of Strafford had invented a pretence for preventing them from voting, because it was a matter of blood; but the Lords were saved from coming to a vote on this point, by the time-serving policy of Bishop Williams, who, desirous to please in order that he might lead, moved that the bishops might be excused from voting on the trial, as being ecclesiastical persons.* He had previously worked upon the fears of his episcopal brethren, by pointing out to them how the Commons were raging against them, and how dangerous a privilege their vote would be, and the other bishops trusting too much to his policy, somewhat basely deserted their post at this time of need.†

Bishops give up their right of voting on the Bill.

But a far greater stigma attaches itself to Williams in this matter, than the merely negative injustice of declining to vote. When the bill of attainder was passed, and the King, after every shift

Base conduct of Williams in Strafford's case.

* Clarendon's *Rebellion*, p. 87. Collier's *Church Hist.*, viii., 202. Hacket's *Williams*.

† Collier's *Church Hist.*, viii., 202.

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to save the man who had so devotedly served him, found his consent demanded by Parliament, counsellors and judges, and a clamorous assemblage which almost besieged his palace, as a last resource he turned to his bishops. Usher, Williams, Morton, Potter, and Juxon were called to help him in this sore dilemma. The ingenuity of Bishop Williams stated the question thus: "Whether, as his Majesty refers his own judgment to his judges (in whose person they act) in cause of life and death, and it lies on them if an innocent man suffer, so why may not his Majesty satisfy his conscience in this matter, that since competent judges in law had awarded that they found fault of treason in the Earl, that he may suffer that judgment to stand, though in his private mind he was not satisfied that the Lord Strafford was criminous?"* "Four of the bishops," says Hacket, anxious to defend the subject of his panegyric from what he evidently feels to be a great scandal—"Four of the bishops were all for the affirmative, and the Earl took it so little in ill part, that the Reverend Armagh prayed with him, preached to him, gave him his last viaticum, and was with him on the scaffold." Ay, but the politic Williams cannot shield himself here under the sanctity of the great Usher. The Primate of Ireland did, it is true, nobly and tenderly minister to the condemned man till the last, but it would have been indeed strange if he could have done this, or Strafford accepted it, if he had counselled the King to do violence to his consci-

Conduct of Archbishop Usher.

* Hacket's *Williams*, ii., 161.

ence in putting him to death. Happily the matter is placed beyond dispute, and Usher completely cleared from this stigma which Bishop Hacket would fasten on him. Not to mention other evidence, we have the Primate's own distinct assertion when he was supposed to be dying: "I neither gave nor approved of any such advice as that the King should assent to the bill against the Earl; but, on the contrary, told his Majesty, that if he was satisfied by what he heard at the trial, that the Earl was not guilty of treason, his Majesty ought not in conscience to consent to his condemnation." * To Williams, therefore, must belong the principal discredit of this advice,† which Lord Clarendon not unfitly calls "unprelatical and ignominious;" but the worthy Bishop Morton, and the Bishop of Carlisle must also bear the blame of not doing "what might have been expected from their calling or their trust, and for forbearing to fortify and confirm a conscience, upon the courage and piety of which themselves and their order did absolutely depend." ‡ One bishop at least, by the confession of all, did earnestly entreat the King not to sin against his conscience in consenting to the bill. This was Juxon, Bishop of London. Even

Bishop Juxon.

* Elrington's *Life of Usher*, p. 214.

† We pass over the mysterious affair of the paper handed by Williams to the King. His biographer says it contained advice to Charles not to consent to the bill for not dissolving the Parliament, except by its own consent; others suggest that it was the letter of Lord Strafford exhorting the King to consent to his sentence, and that this letter was a *forgery* of the Bishop. This seems incredible.—See Elrington's *Usher*, p. 217.

‡ Clarendon, p. 103. Sir P. Warwick, p. 162.

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the malice of the Puritans could find nothing in this truly Christian prelate to carp at and blame. He retired from his great and difficult post of treasurer without having made an enemy. In the highest station, his humility and equanimity had conciliated all men's regard, and no voice was raised except to praise him in these dangerous and trying times.*

Death of Strafford.

Yet at this moment the King, unfortunately for himself, was guided rather by Williams than Juxon, and many bitter regrets did this mistake afterwards cost him. Strafford was hurried to execution, and made a most Christian end, displaying great devotion, humility and charity. Usher when describing his last moments to the King, told his Majesty that he had "seen many die, but never saw so white a soul return to his Maker."† "I beheld," says Evelyn, "on Tower Hill the fatal stroke which severed the wisest head in England from the shoulders of the Earl of Strafford, whose crime coming under the cognizance of no human law, a new one was made, not to be a precedent, but his destruction, to such exorbitancy were things arrived."‡ Greatly had the Earl wished for an interview, before he suffered, with the imprisoned archbishop, his bosom friend for so many years. This, however, had been denied him, and he could only send to Laud a message by the Primate of Ireland, desiring that he might have his prayers

* See *Eikon Basiliké*, chap. ii. Lord Falkland's Speech, Nalson, i., 753.

† Elrington's *Usher*, p. 219. ‡ Evelyn's *Diary*, i., 19.

and his blessing, as he passed on the morrow beneath his windows to the place of execution. Laud could not deny his friend's last request, though in the very act of giving his blessing, he fell back in a swoon overmastered by his feelings.*

Williams brings in his compromise as a bill.

Bishop Williams encouraged by the support which the privileges of his order still received in the House of Lords, now made an attempt to please all parties by a bill of compromise. He introduced a measure into the House of Lords for regulating Bishops and their jurisdiction, which provided :—

(1.) That bishops were to preach every Sunday under a penalty of five pounds.

(2.) That no bishop was to be justice of the peace, except he happened to be Dean of Westminster (as he himself was).

(3.) That every bishop should have twelve assistants ; four chosen by the King, four by the Lords, and four by the Commons.

(4.) That in all vacancies they should present to his Majesty three of the ablest divines of the diocese, out of which the King should choose one to be bishop.

(5.) Deans and prebendaries to be resident in their churches only sixty days.

(6.) Sermons to be preached therein twice every Lord's Day, once every holy day, and a lecture on Wednesday, with a salary of 100 marks.

(7.) All archbishops, bishops, collegiate churches,

* L'Estrange, p. 271.

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&c., to give a fourth part of their fines and improved rents to buy out Impropriations.

(8.) All double beneficed men to pay half their benefice to their curates.

(9.) No appeal to the Court of Arches.

(10.) The canons and constitutions to be drawn up and fitted to the laws of the land by sixteen learned men, chosen six by the King, five by the Lords, and five by the Commons.*

Not pleasing to either party.

Few of the bishops, probably, would be inclined to accept so decided a compromise as this. On the other hand, the Presbyterian party, who already thought they saw the way to the establishment of their favourite system, would assuredly not favour it. The bill, therefore, fell to the ground, and the anti-Church party in the House of Commons continued to push on more vigorously their measures for the overthrow of Episcopacy.

Controversy on Episcopacy.

While Williams attempted, without success, political compromise, Hall and Usher were busy with their pens in defence of menaced Episcopacy. The former had already distinguished himself by his *Episcopacy by Divine Right*, and he now urged his views afresh in *An Humble Remonstrance*—in which he defends forms of prayer and diocesan bishops. He was answered by five Puritan divines under the title of Smectymnuus—a word compounded of the initial letters of their names.† Two other treatises followed, *A Defence of the Remon-*

* Fuller, xi., iv., 2.

† Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow.

*strance* and *A Vindication of the Answer*.* Meantime, Hall earnestly called upon Usher to lend a helping hand in the conflict. He invited him "to bestow one sheet of paper upon these distracted times, on the subject of Episcopacy, showing the Apostolical original of it, and the grounds of it from Scripture, and immediately succeeding antiquity.....Think that I stand before you like the man of Macedon, and that you hear me say, 'Come and help us.' And as your Grace is wholly given up to the common good of the Church, say whether you can deny it?" † In answer to this earnest appeal, the learned Primate composed a treatise called *The Original of Bishops and Metropolitans briefly laid down*, which, together with another tract of his bearing upon the same subject, was published at Oxford.‡ In the same volume

* Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 320. † Elrington's *Usher*, p. 225, note.

‡ Some little time before this, with a view to the troubles of the times, Usher had composed a tract called *The reduction of Episcopacy into the form of synodical government received in the ancient Church*. This was an attempt to reconcile Episcopacy with Presbyterianism. It was unfinished by the Primate, but was stolen out of his writing-desk and surreptitiously published. "The four propositions of which it consists," says Dr. Elrington, "are essentially the same with those respecting Church Government, laid down by Knox and the Presbyterian party, except that they require the appointment of chorepiscopi, or suffragan bishops, equal in number to the rural deaneries. By taking away from bishops all power of order and jurisdiction, there was left to them but the empty title of superintendent or president of the ecclesiastical synod," &c.—Elrington's *Usher*, p. 209. There is no proof whatever that this tract represented Archbishop Usher's deliberate opinion, or that he ever intended to publish it. In fact, it appears to be directly contrary to his other writings at this period. As it is of considerable importance in the history of the period, the *Reduction* will be found printed in Appendix B.

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Milton as a controversialist.

were printed selections from the writings of Hooker and Andrewes in support of Episcopacy. This controversy is made especially remarkable, by having called forth the polemical powers of the great Milton. Thoroughly embued with a hatred of bishops, and conscious of the skill which he possessed to use a literary scalping-knife, the fierce young republican rushed into the *mêlée* with no less than five treatises against prelacy.* But the same fire which made Milton a great poet, made him also a vile controversialist; and it would be well for his fame, if the scurrilous invective and vulgar abuse, which he perpetrated by way of argument, could be for ever buried in oblivion.

King's Concessions in Scotland.

But while the bishops were contending for their order in England, the King, on whom they chiefly leaned, and of whose entire devotion to them they could not doubt, had, strange to say, assented in Scotland to a bill which declared that "the government of the Church by archbishops and bishops was repugnant to the Word of God; that the prelates were enemies to the true reformed Protestant religion; that, therefore, their order was to be suppressed, and their lands given to the King," &c.† This extraordinary proceeding is to be explained by the fact that the King had gone to Scotland, determined by the most ungrudging concessions to detach, if possible, that nation from the interest of

* *Of Reform in Church Government. Of Prelatical Episcopacy. Reason of Church Government against Prelacy. Animadversions upon Defence against Smectymnuus. An Apology for Smectymnuus.*

† Clarendon, p. 124. Collier's *Church History*, viii., 219.

the Parliament and to attach them to himself. The concessions went so far that they stultified and utterly contradicted his English policy. In Scotland he attended the Presbyterian worship, and accepted Mr. Henderson as his guide, director, and chaplain. So that those who wished ill to the English Episcopacy, might bring weapons against it from the practice of its own most zealous friend. It was reported that the King, having abandoned Episcopacy in Scotland, was about to do the same in England on his return. Yet nothing was really further from his thoughts. Thus he writes from Edinburgh to Secretary Nicholas: "As I have been sufficiently slandered here in some respects, so there also I hear that I have not missed those good offices, though in another kind, as being resolved at my return to alter the form of the Church government in England to this here; therefore, I command you to assure all my servants there that I am constant for the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England as it was established by Queen Elizabeth and my Father; and resolve, by the grace of God, to live and die in the maintenance of it." * This announcement was carefully communicated by Secretary Nicholas to the persons of most weight; and, in reply, he writes to the King: "I have already made known to divers lords and others, your Majesty's pious resolution to maintain constantly the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England; and have, by their advice, delivered extracts of what your Majesty hath written to divers

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Explanations published.

* The King to Sir E. Nicholas.—Evelyn's *Diary*, v., 53.

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of your Majesty's subjects, that your piety therein may be understood by your good people here."* The Secretary also reminded his Majesty that the immediate filling up of the sees which were vacant, might be a useful proof of his care for the Church, and at the same time he gave the King the sound advice to confer the bishoprics upon persons of whom there was not the least suspicion of favouring the Popish party.

Filling up of the vacant sees.

In compliance with this suggestion, the King made eight episcopal appointments. First and foremost, Bishop Williams, still the most popular of his order on account of his recent imprisonment, was translated from Lincoln to the Archbishopric of York. The learned Primate of Ireland, unable to return to his see amidst the horrors of the Irish Rebellion, had the See of Carlisle given him to hold in commendam. The excellent Joseph Hall was translated from Exeter to Norwich; Brian Duppa from Chichester to Salisbury, vacant by the death of Dr. Davenant; Thomas Westfield, Archdeacon of St. Albans, was made Bishop of Bristol; Henry King, Dean of Rochester, of Chichester; Ralph Brownrigg, Prebendary of Durham, of Exeter; John Prideaux, Rector of Exeter College, Oxford, of Worcester.

Discontent at the appointment.

These appointments were unexceptionable,† and would, at another time, have been popular; but

* Sir E. Nicholas to the King.—Evelyn's *Diary*, v., 63.

† "All of great eminency in the Church, frequent preachers, and not a man to whom the faults of the then governing clergy were imputed, or against whom the least objection could be made."—Clarendon, p. 121.

the busy leaders of Parliament were not pleased that any appointments should be made while the whole question of the *status* of the bishops was under consideration. "Some did marvel," says Sir E. Nicholas, "that any man should move your Majesty for making of bishops in these times, when it is well known how great complaints are against them in general; and some would have had a petition or message to be sent to pray your Majesty to be pleased to stay the consecrating of any more bishops till the business concerning Episcopacy shall be determined." * The Commons had demanded of the Lords that the thirteen bishops impeached for having taken a share in the making of the canons should not be allowed to vote, and that no Episcopal voices should be admitted on questions which involved the interests of their order. To this, indeed, the Peers could not be brought to assent; yet, at the same time, studied insults were offered to the bishops in the House of Lords; they were excluded from committees, the temporal peers took precedence of them, and the clerk designedly turned his back upon them in reading bills.†

State of affairs at the reopening of Parliament.

In this position, therefore, stood the affairs of the Church, when Parliament met again after a short recess. With much personal animosity developed against some of the clergy, and especially

* Nicholas to the King.—Evelyn's *Diary*, v., 71. Nalson, ii., 499, 511. The bill to take away the bishops' votes, &c., had been again brought in and passed through the House of Commons, and sent to the Lords.—Clarendon, p. 122.

† Fuller, xi., iv., 10.

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against the bishops, no actual progress had as yet been made against the Church, at least in the matter of legislation. It was seen that the attempt to prove the bishops guilty of high treason for having voted the canons was a failure, some of the lawyers in the House having suggested that they might with just as much reason be accused of adultery. The leaders of the Commons must find some other weapons, or their attack would fail.

Mr. Pym's report.

When the House met, on October 20, Mr. Pym made a report from the committee which had sat during the recess, with regard to the declaration in the matter of ceremonial and ritual, which had been made by the Commons on September 9. Many ministers were complained of, either for having refused to read it in their churches, or for not allowing it to be acted on, and several churchwardens were also informed against, who had defended the fittings of their churches against the rabble who wished to tear them down, in accordance with the order of the Commons.*

Illegality of the order against ceremonial.

Yet the House must have been fully aware of the utter illegality of the order which they sought to enforce. Sir Edward Dering had not scrupled to tell them—"The seasonableness and equity of your order both are controverted. You all know that this is a dangerous time to make any determinations in matter of religion, whether it be in the doctrinal or in the practical part of God's worship. Men are now-a-days many of them more wise, and some of them more wilful than in former times.

* Nalson, ii., 488, 491-2.

The use and caution is this—Let us take care that what we do, we do with full authority. I would have nothing new in this kind, but by authority of the three estates, and even then let us be wary, that we suit the times with applications proper and seasonable." Every day, however, these moderate counsels were becoming less regarded, and the party which was bent upon an entire change in Church and State, was gaining the preponderance. Many causes had contributed to strengthen them. The King's vacillation in Scotland, the fearful rebellion and terrible massacres in Ireland, which were now appalling all men, and which were industriously attributed to the machinations of the Queen and the connivance of the King—these were some of the chief.

The Remonstrance.

A committee had been appointed to draw up a general declaration or remonstrance on the state of the kingdom, which, when voted in the Commons, was to be presented to the King. The draught of the committee "contained," says Clarendon, "a very bitter representation of all the illegal things which had been done from the first hour of the King's coming to the throne to that minute; with all those sharp reflections which could be made upon the King himself, the Queen and Council."* Such a document brought to the vote, would evidently be a complete criterion between the friends and enemies of the established order of things, and the

* May says, "There was as much tenderness of expression and respect to the King's person as in the utterance of so much truth could prossibly be shown."

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leaders of the discontented party must have calculated and deliberated with great care on the strength on which they could count, before they ventured to propose it to the House. As it was, after a very long and violent debate, it was only carried by a majority of nine.* It was then proposed by Mr. Hampden, that it should be printed by way of an appeal to the people. This proposition being against precedent, and of a revolutionary character, was violently opposed, but at length was also carried, and the long bill of indictment, printed for all men to know it, was carried up by the Commons, and presented to the King on December 1. A petition was prefixed to it, which prayed that the King would be graciously pleased to agree with the "humble desires of his people for preserving the peace and safety of the kingdom from the malicious designs of the Papists, for depriving the bishops of their votes in Parliament, and abridging their immoderate power usurped over the clergy and other your good subjects, which they have most perniciously abused to the hazard of religion, and great prejudice and oppression of the laws of the kingdom, and just liberty of your people. For the taking away such oppressions in religion, Church government, and discipline as have been brought in and fomented by them." The remonstrance itself was commenced with a short abstract of its contents, which, after enumerating the evils against which the Parliament had to protest, attri-

* Clarendon, p. 125. May, p. 89.

butes them to three causes. (1.) The Jesuited Papists. (2.) The bishops and the corrupt part of the clergy who cherish formality and superstition, &c. (3.) Evil counsellors and courtiers. The common principles by which these authors of all mischief had laboured to effect their ends, are declared to be:—"The keeping up continual differences between the King and his people about his prerogative, &c. The suppressing the purity and power of religion, by cherishing 'Arminians, Papists, and Libertines,' and disaffecting the King to Parliaments by slanders and false accusations." To support these charges, a long and minute review of the history of the whole reign of the King is entered upon, and in the strongest and most searching terms the government is arraigned of injustice, oppression, and violence, and the bishops of "triumphing in the excommunication and degradation of learned and pious ministers, and in the vexation and grievous oppression of great numbers of his Majesty's good subjects." At the same time, the Commons profess strict loyalty to the King, and declare that "it is far from their purpose to desire to let loose the golden reins of discipline and government in the Church, and to leave private persons or particular congregations to take up what form of divine service they please." They only desired "to unburden the consciences of men of needless and superstitious ceremonies, suppress innovations and take away the monuments of idolatry." For this purpose, they desired there might be a synod of the most pious and learned divines

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in the island, "assisted with some from foreign parts." *

Remarks on it.

It is unquestionable that there was much of truth in this remonstrance, but it fairly admits of a question whether the bitter reflections on the past were not a gratuitous insult to the King, and, perhaps, even designed to exasperate him beyond reconciliation, and to precipitate a crisis.† The demand made in the petition that he should agree to taking away the bishops' votes was, at any rate, premature, when as yet the Lords had not passed the bill. Many were of opinion, says May, "that this remonstrance, instead of directing the King for the future, would teach him only to hate the makers of it, as upbraiders of his crimes, and as going about to lessen or blemish his reputation with the people. For mine own part," says the cautious Parliamentarian, "I will make no judgment at all upon it."‡ "It was roughly penned," says Whitelocke, "both for the matter and expressions in it, but the general fate of things drove on this way to increase the jealousies between the King and people."§

The leaders of the House of Commons having taken up a position of such open and declared hostility to the King, it was necessary for their own

* Nalson, ii., 692, 707.

† "It was hardly capable of answering any other purpose than that of reanimating discontents almost appeased, and guarding the people against the confidence they were beginning to place in the King's sincerity."—Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, i., 532.

‡ May's *Hist. of the Parliament*, p. 89.

§ Whitelocke's *Memorials*, pp. 48-9. See Sir E. Dering's *Speech*, in Rushworth, iii., i., 425, sq.

safety that they should labour to support it by every means in their power. Accordingly, the popular tumults and mobs which had been so successful in hastening on the end of the Earl of Strafford, were sedulously stirred up. Riotous assemblages surrounded the Houses of Parliament, and shouted out their will to trembling members. The one great point in which the extreme party were most eager to triumph was the expulsion of the bishops from the House of Lords.* This had been put forward in the Remonstrance as a fundamental necessity for good government, and had been repeatedly aimed at by the bill which had passed the Commons, but which, as often as it appeared in the Lords, was defeated chiefly by the votes of the bishops themselves. Thus, among all the cries of the mob, "No bishops" was the loudest and most frequent; every grievance was ascribed to this source. "No day passed," says Fuller, "wherein some petition was not presented to the Lords or Commons from several persons against the bishops as grand grievancers, causing the general decay of trade, obstructing the proceedings in Parliament, and what not. In so much that the very porters, as they said, were able no longer to undergo

Popular tumults encouraged.

Cry of "No Bishops."

* "They knew well that if they could destroy monarchy in the Church, by planting in rebellion for religion, they would soon weaken the power of the King's temporal militia, as woful experience hath taught us. This made the masters of the faction always set up the Church as the butt, and the bishops' sleeves as the white, chiefly aimed at by all sorts of people to shoot their bolts against; that to have the bow ready bent and the quiver full of sharp arrows, even bitter words, against the Church, grew to be the only religion in fashion."—*Persecutio Undecima*, p. 4.

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Bishops decline to abandon their Parliamentary rights.

the burden of episcopal tyranny, and petitioned against it."* Some of the lords, to get rid of the difficulty, tried to persuade the bishops voluntarily to relinquish their rights, but they stood out with resolution for the ancient privileges of their order, and refused to yield. "No forty-shillings man in England," said Bishop Williams, "but doth in person or representation enjoy his freedom and liberty: the prelates of this kingdom, as a looking-glass and representation of the clergy, a third estate, if we may speak either from Sir Edward Coke or the ancient Acts of Parliament, have been in possession thereof these thousand years and upwards."† "I can show your lordships," said Bishop Hall, "a just catalogue of my predecessors that have sat before me here ever since the Conqueror's time, and truly though I have a just cause to be mean in my own eyes, yet why or wherein there should be more unworthiness in me than in the rest, that I should be stripped of that privilege which they so long enjoyed, though there were no law to hold me here, I cannot see or confess."‡

Terrorism practised against them. Bishop Hall's account.

That, however, which it was impossible to establish by argument, or procure by legal courses, was now to be brought about by terrorism and mob law. The rabble, "coming at first unarmed, were checked by some well-willers, and easily persuaded to gird on their rusty swords, and, so accoutered, came by thousands to the Houses, filling all the outer

* Fuller's *Church History*, xi., iii., 13.
† Hacket's *Williams*, ii., 173.
‡ Bishop Hall's *Speech*, Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 302.

rooms, offering foul abuse to the bishops as they passed, crying out '*No bishops, no bishops!*' and, at last, after divers days' assembling, grown to that height of fury, that many of them came with resolution of some violent courses, insomuch that many swords were drawn hereupon at Westminster, and the rout did not stick openly to profess that they would pull the bishops in pieces. Messages were sent down to them from the Lords. They still held firm both to the place and their bloody resolutions. It now grew to be torch-light. One of the Lords, the Marquis of Hertford, came up to the bishops' form, told us that we were in great danger, advised us to take some course for our own safety, and being desired to tell us what he thought was the best way, counselled us to continue in the Parliament House all that night; for (saith he) these people vow that they will watch you at your going out, and will search every coach for you with torches, so as you cannot escape. Hereupon the House of Lords was moved for some order for the preventing their mutinous and riotous meetings. Messages were sent down to the House of Commons for this purpose more than once. Nothing was effected; but for the present (forsomuch as all the danger was at the rising of the House) it was earnestly desired of the Lords that some care might be taken of our safety. The motion was received by some lords with a smile. Some other lords (as the Earl of Manchester) undertook the protection of the Archbishop of York and his company (whose shelter I went under)

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to their lodgings, the rest, some of them by their long stay, others by secret and far-fetched passages, escaped home."*

Their protest.

Such is the account given by one of themselves, of the dangers which drove the bishops from the House of Lords, and induced them to agree to the unfortunate proposal of Archbishop Williams, to draw up a joint protest against the legality of all proceedings taken in their absence. It is probable that the Archbishop, whose temper was choleric, was too much excited by the insults of the mob to deliberate calmly on the step which he recommended to his brethren. "The bishops," says Clarendon, "could not have the patience to attend the dissolution of this storm, which, in wisdom, they ought to have done; but considering right and reason too abstractly, and what in justice was due, not what in reason ought to be expected, suffered themselves to be implicitly guided by the Archbishop of York, who was of a proud, restless, overweening spirit, to such an act of indiscretion and disadvantage to themselves, that all their enemies could not have brought upon them."† The protest drawn up by Williams, and signed by him and eleven other bishops, declared the ancient privilege of bishops to vote in Parliament; and that the bishops were most willing and anxious to perform their duties in this matter, but that the disorderly assemblages placed

* Bishop Hall's *Hard Measure*, Wordsworth, iv., 297. See Hacket's *Williams*, ii., 177-8. May, p. 96. Clarendon, pp. 134-5.

† Clarendon, p. 138.

them in peril of their lives and prevented them from attending the House. They, therefore, protested "against all laws, orders, votes, and resolutions, as in themselves null and of none effect, which in their absence since the seven-and-twentieth of this instant month, December, have already passed; as likewise against all such as shall hereafter pass during the time of their forced and violent absence from their said most honourable house." * This protest Williams assured his brethren was just and legal, and that "there were many precedents for it in former Parliaments;" † and, on his high authority, they subscribed it, "intending yet to have had some further consultation concerning the delivering and whole carriage of it." No opportunity, however, was allowed the bishops of retrieving the rash step. The protest was at once given to the Lord Keeper, with the intention of its being conveyed to the King; ‡ but the Lord Keeper, "willing to take this advantage of ingratiating himself, read the same openly in the House of Lords, and when he found soms of the faction apprehensive enough of misconstruction, aggravates the matter as highly offensive and of dangerous consequence. § And thereupon, not without much

Published by the Lord Keeper.

* Clarendon, u. s.

† Bishop Hall's *Hard Measure*.

‡ Clarendon says that the Archbishop went to Whitehall and gave the petition to the King, and the King gave it to the Lord Keeper, with his command that he should deliver it to the House as soon as it met.

§ One bishop, who had taken no part in the protest, boldly and ably defended his brethren in the House of Lords. This was Warner, Bishop of Rochester. He lived throughout the troubles

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heat and vehemence, and with an ill preface, it is sent down to the House of Commons; where it was entertained heinously, Glynne, with a full mouth, crying it up for no less than high treason; and some comparing, yea preferring it, to the powder plot. We, poor souls," continues good Bishop Hall, "(who little thought we had done anything that might deserve a chiding) are now called to our knees at the bar, and charged severally with high treason, being not a little astonished at the suddenness of this crimination, compared with the perfect innocence of our intentions, which were only to bring us to our due places in Parliament with safety and speed, without the least purpose of any man's offence. But now traitors we are in all haste, and must be dealt with accordingly. For, on January 30, in all the extremity of frost, at eight o'clock in the dark evening, are we voted to the Tower, and the news of our imprisonment was entertained with ringing of bells and bonfires, and men gave us up for lost, railing on our perfidiousness, and adjudging us to what foul deaths they pleased." *

Bishops charged with high treason.

Committed to the Tower.

The protest had been framed on the supposition that the lords spiritual formed one of the three estates of the realm, and that without them the action of the other estates would be imperfect and illegal. This is, perhaps, a false notion of our

universally respected; his ample fortune enabling him to be very serviceable to the persecuted clergy.

* Bishop Hall's *Hard Measure*, Wordsworth, iv., 299, 300.

constitution,* but if it had been admitted by the Commons, it might be argued, in reply, that one of the three estates had no right arbitrarily to interpose to prevent the action of the other two; † at any rate, the opportunity was most welcome to the Commons, as it enabled them, with at least a show of justice, to effect that for which they had been so long earnestly striving.

Conduct of Archbishop Williams.

The popularity of Archbishop Williams had been for some time on the decline; and for this politic and subtle man, who thought himself able to control the storm before which others fell, to be involved in the same meshes as his more guileless brethren, was held an excellent joke by the anti-Episcopal party, and, probably, relished also not a little by some of the High Church clergy.‡ Williams, confident in his power of hitting off the true medium, which would prove acceptable to the people, had lately held his visitation in his diocese, and repressed with vigour altar-wise tables and kneeling at the rails, but he had also threatened unconformable ministers and denounced license in preaching.§ He had taken upon himself, too, without being requested, to draw up

* See Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 298, note. Collier's *Church History*, viii., 224, sq. Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 430.

† The protest of the bishops, as is remarked by Neal, was equivalent to a dissolution of Parliament. The Lords, as it was alleged, could not act legally without the spiritual peers, and as it was admitted that the Commons could not act without the Lords, Parliament must cease altogether. Yet Mr. Hallam says that the protest was "abundantly justifiable in its argument by the plainest principles of law."—*Constitutional History*, i., 553.

‡ Heylin's *Laud*, p. 492.

§ Hacket's *Williams*, ii.

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a thanksgiving service when the Houses were to celebrate the Pacification with the Scotch; upon which the Parliament voted that he had no authority to make any such service, and refused to attend public worship in his Abbey-Church. He was too able a man not to be hated by the Presbyterian faction, and accordingly his second incarceration in the Tower was received with high glee and rejoicing.*

Bill to take away bishops' votes in Parliament passed.

The bishops safely lodged in the Tower, advantage was at once taken of their absence, and of the angry feeling which their protest had produced, to pass the bill for taking away their votes in Parliament through the House of Lords, which before had been so often attempted in vain. And to this the King, after much hesitation, was induced to give his consent.† The passing of this bill was the first definite step taken against the *status* of the Episcopal Church. The censures and punishments of individual clergymen, in which the House

* A clever squib, called *The Decoy Duck*, was published on the subject, in which Williams is excellently hit off. "I know, quoth the decoy duck, all the parts of this climate—east, west, north, and south; the civil and common laws of the country, and know how to avoid all the fowler's gins and snares though never so closely laid. O bravely protested and most freely declared, quacked all the ducks. Although this our brother duck hath not frequented our company of late nor been of our gang, yet he, leading the way and in the first range, is subject to the most danger.....They all quacked, and said our brother, Bugden Duck, he protested he would bring us to a safe and secure place; and we, his brother ducks, think he hath done so indeed. Then quoth the owner of the river, he hath played the decoy duck with you all, and hath not only brought in you, but himself also, in the same danger."—Somers *Tracts*, iv., 168-9.

† Fuller's *Church History*, xi., 194-5. Clarendon, p. 171-2.

of Commons had so freely indulged, the reprobating and condemning the canons of 1640, the illegal orders for the discontinuance of the ceremonial, the intrusion of lecturers—all these, and many more, were simply acts of exasperation and menace, without any definite or permanent effect on the established religion of the country. But to take away the bishops' voices in Parliament was to strip the Church of its representation in the great council of the nation, and so to alter its standing and power in the State. Many indeed, even among churchmen, might think that the excluding the bishops from temporal affairs would be no essential interference with their most important functions; but, at any rate, it was a decided change in their position, and through them in the position of the Church which they represented. Yet it was not any real sign that the nation was becoming Presbyterian in its views. A small, but active, Presbyterian clique had carried off this triumph by means of the exasperation which they had sedulously cherished, but more on account of political causes which were fast placing in open antagonism the King and the party of civil progress. It was the great misfortune of Charles that he was absolutely deficient in tact and political wisdom. He neither knew when to yield nor when to strike. Having unjustifiably consented to the execution of Strafford, and most foolishly agreed to the bill for continuing the present Parliament during the pleasure of the members, he committed a still greater act of folly by his attempt to seize the five members in the

Its effect.

Impolicy of the King.

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House of Commons,* and thus furnishing the party which hated him with the most effectual weapons that they could desire. It was rash to strike thus inconsiderately, and impolitic also was it to yield to the popular outcry, and to withdraw from London, leaving the field to his enemies. Very questionable, too, was the policy of consenting to the abolishing of Episcopacy in Scotland,† and to the bill which deprived the bishops of their votes,‡ when he still adhered to his ancient opinion in their favour. Many must have doubted of the sincerity of his support, and perhaps have been turned aside from casting in their lot with his party, from suspicions of his fidelity to its principles.

Petitions in favour of Episcopacy.

Petitions continued to flow in in favour of Episcopacy and the Liturgy, as well as against them. In seven of these, says Heylin, without taking into account the others, there were the signatures of 482 lords and knights, 1740 esquires and gentle-

* "This action shocked even many of his best friends to that degree, that they knew not what construction to make of it."—Nalson, ii., 841. See Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 28.

† "He told Dr. Sanderson and Dr. Morley that the remembrance of two errors did much afflict him—which were his assent to the Earl of Strafford's death and the abolishing Episcopacy in Scotland; and that if God ever restored him to be in a peaceable possession of his crown, he would demonstrate his repentance by a public confession and voluntary penance."—Walton's *Life of Sanderson*.

‡ "The passing that bill exceedingly weakened the King's party; not only as it perpetually swept away so considerable a number out of the House of Peers, which were constantly devoted to him, but as it made impression on others whose minds were in suspense and shaken, as when foundations are dissolved."—Clarendon, p. 172.

men, 631 doctors and divines, and 44,559 free- holders of good name and note.* This represents a considerable amount of favourable opinion, and the petitions speak a very decided language. "For the present government of the Church," says the petition from Somersetshire, signed by 14,350 gentlemen and freeholders, "we are most thankful to God, believing it in our hearts to be the most pious, and the wisest that any people or kingdom on earth hath been blest withal since the apostles days."† "Our pious, ancient and laudable form of divine service," says the Cheshire petition, "composed by the holy martyrs, and worthy instruments of reformation, with such general content received by all the laity, that scarce any family or person that can read, but are furnished with the Books of Common Prayer, in the conscionable use whereof many Christian hearts have found unspeakable joy and comfort wherein the famous Church of England, our dear mother, hath just cause to glory,"‡ and to this nearly ten thousand gentlemen and yeomen affixed their signatures. The King was speaking the sense of a great portion of his subjects, when in answer to the Remonstrance, he said: "We are very sorry to hear in such general

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King's answer to the Remonstrance.

* Heylin's *Presbyterians*, p. 446. Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, i., 9. "I have a collection of these petitions now before me," says Mr. Hallam, "printed in 1642, from thirteen English, and five Welsh counties, and all very numerously signed. In almost every instance I observe, they thank the Parliament for putting a check to innovations and abuses, while they deprecate the abolition of Episcopacy and the Liturgy."—*Const. Hist.*, i., 527, note.

† Nalson, ii., 726.

‡ Nalson, ii., 758.

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terms, corruption in religion objected, since we are persuaded in our conscience, that no Church can be found upon the earth, which professeth the true religion with more purity of doctrine than the Church of England doth, nor where the government and discipline are jointly more beautified and free from superstition, than as they are here established by law."* The most indeed that any considerable body of men in the country desired, was promised by the King in his "declaration to his loving subjects." "We shall very willingly comply with the advice of our Parliament, that some law may be made for the exemption of tender consciences from punishment or prosecution for such ceremonies and in such cases, which by the judgment of most men are held to be matters indifferent, and of some to be absolutely unlawful."† Yet when the King neutralized the effect of his conciliatory language by some sudden attack, such as his attempt upon the five members, treachery was, not unreasonably, suspected, and a contest precipitated: men were forced into an apparent support of a system which they disliked, and in their party strife were ranged against religious views, which in reality were their own. The Presbyterian party had complained bitterly in their second petition, that in spite of all that the Parliament had done, the work of reformation (as they called it) was not advanced by it, and the use of the Book of Common Prayer was still enforced,

Causes of the success of the Presbyterians.

* Nalson, ii., 745. † Nalson, ii., 747.

and they earnestly demanded a further progress.* Yet it is probable that but little more would have been done, had not political strife made the help of the Scotch indispensable, and given ascendancy for the moment to the form of religion which they favoured.

* Nalson, ii., 764.

## CHAPTER XX.

Chap. XX. 1642.

Beginning of contest between King and Parliament—Parliament's declaration on religion—Feeling of the country—Effects of Scotch influence—Letter of Assembly to the Parliament—Answer of the Parliament—Political causes drive them to declare against Episcopacy—King exposes the real views of Parliament—Bill to abolish Episcopacy—Parliament not in earnest in this matter—Driven on by their need of the Scotch—Oxford propositions—King's answer—Ordinance for assembly of divines—Act of open antagonism to the Church of England—Meeting of the Assembly—Puritanism at last finds an expression—Character of the Assembly—They begin with a fast—Revision of Thirty-nine Articles—Arrival of Scotch Commissioners, and tender of the Covenant—Assembly take the Covenant—Covenant tendered generally—Observations on the Covenant—Covenant a useful weapon against the loyal clergy—Livings filled up by the Assembly—How far the Liturgy was used before formal suppression of Prayer Book—Attempts of the Westminster Assembly to construct a substitute for the Prayer Book—Ordination—Directory for public worship—Its character—Observance of Christmas forbidden—Directory for ordination published—Debates in the Assembly about Church government—A Presbyterian scheme voted—Parliament refuses to vote its divine right—The Assembly's Catechisms—Its Confession of faith—The Assembly gradually dwindles away—Its scheme never carried out—Checked by rising power of the Independents.

Beginning of contest between King and Parliament.

FROM the King's leaving Whitehall, on January 10, may be dated the commencement of the open strife between him and the Parliament. His refusal to ratify any more Acts of Parliament, the struggle for the command of the militia, the de-

clarations and counter-declarations, the progress northward, the sending for the Great Seal, the calling to him the Members of Parliament who supported him, the attempts upon Hull and Portsmouth gradually developed and widened the breach. Each party was bent on governing in spite of the other, and while the King had prescription, the Parliament had power. Preparations were eagerly made by both for the coming struggle. The Queen was in Holland busy in procuring supplies with the Crown jewels. The universities were applied to, and readily lent all their available funds, while the colleges sent their plate. On their side the Parliament, desiring to carry the nation with them, and not to be suspected by the great mass of intelligent men who were upon the whole well satisfied with the form of religion under which they had been brought up, of a too great devotion to the fanatical party, published a declaration as follows :—"That they intended a due and necessary reformation of the government and Liturgy of the Church, and to take away nothing in the one or the other, but what should be evil and justly offensive, or at least unnecessary and burdensome; and for the better effecting thereof speedily to have consultation with godly and learned divines, and because that would never of itself attain the end sought therein, they would also use their utmost endeavours to established learned and preaching ministers with a good and sufficient maintenance throughout the whole kingdom; wherein many dark corners were miserably destitute of the means

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Parliament's declaration on religion.

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of salvation, and many poor ministers wanted necessary provision."*

The effect of this declaration was to allay to some considerable extent the fears of those who dreaded the most sweeping measures of Church reform. The tone of the great majority of the petitions presented to the House, had been limited to declarations against Popish lords' and bishops' votes in Parliament. The bills introduced were against "innovations, superstitious and scandalous ministers, and idolatrous practices."† There was as yet no desire expressed for a radical change. Occasionally, indeed, "a thorough reformation in religion," betraying a Presbyterian bias, was expressed, but the nation had not declared any general hostility to the ancient system and polity of the Church of England.‡

Feeling of the country.

The Lancashire petition, presented to the King in June, commended his Majesty's zeal "for the maintenance and continuance of our Church government and solemn Liturgy of the Church, of long continued and general approbation of the most pious and learned of this nation and of other countries,"§ and 7,000 esquires, gentlemen, and freeholders of Cornwall humbly desired his Majesty never to "admit an alteration in religion."‖ But the strife increased, and the Parliament, if they would stand well with the Scotch, had to take a

* Clarendon, p. 212. † Rushworth, iii., i., 555.

‡ "The people were generally well affected to the government and Liturgy of the Church of England, if they had not been prevented and overawed by the armies and ordinances of the House of Parliament."—Heylin's *Laud*, p. 503.

§ Rushworth, iii., i., 636. ‖ *Ibid.*

Effects of Scotch influence.

more decided line in religious matters. They had accepted, with great readiness, the proffered assistance of the Scotch Council made by their chancellor, and they knew that the price they would have to pay would be the abolishing of Episcopacy and the establishment of the Scotch discipline. The majority of both Houses were Erastian in their principles * (as will usually be the case in all assemblies of statesmen), and ready to establish by law that form of Church government which was most suitable to their own interests. With a very few exceptions, they had no particular prejudice against Episcopacy or predilection for Presbyterianism. But the Scotch were decided and bigoted.† Accordingly, in the nineteen propositions sent by the Parliament to the King on June 2, and which may be considered a sort of ultimatum on their part, they require, "That your Majesty will be pleased to consent that such a Reformation be made of the Church Government and Liturgy as both Houses of Parliament shall advise; wherein they intend to have consultations with divines, as is expressed in their declaration to that purpose; and that your Majesty will contribute your best assistance to them for the raising a sufficient maintenance for preaching ministers through the kingdom; and that your Majesty will be pleased to give your consent to laws for the taking away of innovations, and super-

* Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 461. "The most of the House of Commons are downright Erastians."—Baillie's *Letters*, ii., 265.

† "The English were for a civil league, we for a religious covenant."—Baillie's *Letters*, ii., 90. See Hallam's *Constitutional History*, i., 526, 578.

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stitions, and of pluralities, and against scandalous ministers." * This is an increase of distinctness in the enunciation of their views. It was not, however, considered decided enough by the Scotch.

Letter of Assembly to the Parliament.

Accordingly, the General Assembly addressed a letter to the English Parliament on August 3, in which, after giving God thanks for the Parliament's desire of a reformation of religion, and expressing their grief that it moved so slowly, they observe "that their Commissioners, far from arrogance and presumption, had with great respect and reverence expressed their desires for unity of religion, that there might be one confession of faith, one directory of worship, one public catechism, and one form of Church Government." They advise the Parliament to begin with an uniformity of Church Government, for "what hope can there be" (say they) "of one confession of faith, one form of worship and catechism, till prelacy be plucked up root and branch as a plant which God hath not planted." † Here, indeed, was plain language, and an open statement of what the Scotch would require as the condition of their assistance.

Answer of the Parliament.

The Parliament replied, "We have entered upon a serious consideration what good we have received by the government of bishops, and do perceive it has been the occasion of many intolerable burdens and grievances, by their usurping a pre-eminence and power not given them by the Word of God. We find it has also been pernicious to our civil

* Rushworth, iii., i., 723.
† *Ibid.*, iii., ii., 387. Clarendon, p. 317.

government, insomuch as the bishops have ever been forward to fill the minds of our princes with notions of an arbitrary power over the lives and liberties of the subject, by their counsels and in their sermons. Upon which accounts and many others, we do declare that this government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans and chapters, archdeacons and other ecclesiastical persons depending on the hierarchy, is evil and justly offensive and burdensome to the kingdom, a great impediment to reformation, and very prejudicial to the civil government; and that we are resolved that the same shall be taken away. And we desire our brethren of Scotland to concur with us in petitioning his Majesty that we may have an assembly of divines, and to send some of their own ministers to the said assembly, in order to obtain uniformity in Church government, that so a more easy passage may be made for settling one confession of faith and directory of public worship for the three kingdoms." *

Political causes drive them to declare against Episcopacy.

At this point, then, the House of Commons, driven by political necessities and the requirements of the rapidly impending struggle, abandons the cause of the Church of England, and openly favours the Scotch model. War was already, in effect,

* Rushworth, iii., ii., 390, sq. Clarendon, p. 317. "It is most certain," says Clarendon, "that this last declaration was procured by persuading men that it was for the present necessary, and that it was only an engagement to do their best to persuade his Majesty, who, they concluded, would be inexorable on the point (which they seemed not to be sorry for); and that a receding from such a conclusion would be a means to gratify his Majesty in a treaty."

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begun. Within a few days of the date of this letter, the royal standard was set up at Nottingham; and as the Episcopal Church lent its powerful influence to the side of the King, so the Parliament was fain to secure whatever help it could by affecting a sudden preference for Presbyterianism.

King exposes the real views of Parliament.

The King did not fail to warn the Scotch how hollow the pretence was. He told them that Parliament had never before expressed any desire, or made any proposition for unity of worship between England and Scotland. That he was confident that the chief persons among them, and those who made the fairest pretensions, would not sooner embrace a Presbyterian form of government, than they would an Episcopal. That they had never shown any particular zeal for reforming the Church, and taking away abuses, though he had himself pressed them to it.* In order, however, to prove to their allies that they were really in earnest in their declaration, a bill to abolish Episcopacy was brought into Parliament, and passed the Commons in September, but not till after four months, the Lords.† The "Root and Branch Bill" of the former year had

Bill to abolish Episcopacy.

* Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 463.

† Neal, ii., 464. A contemporary newspaper, *Special Passages*, &c., thus comments on this event: "Considering further that all of them, as bishops, have been great hindrances of the Gospel, and though some of them were held good before they were bishops, yet after they have arrived to that height proved ambitious and covetous, delighting to starve souls, not save souls, insomuch that it came to a proverb, once a bishop and never good after: and after some debate of these bishops, whether it were fit the Church of England should be governed by such kind of creatures any longer, it was resolved and concluded by the whole House (not one man dissenting) that they shall be eradicated," &c.

never passed through committee, nor had its promoters ever anticipated that it would become law, intending merely to use it as a foundation for introducing the new scheme of moderated Episcopacy, which was brought in when it was in committee. It is also very observable in reference to the bill now passed, that the time fixed for the ceasing of Episcopacy, is more than a year distant from the date of the passing of the bill. "If," says Neal, "the two houses had been inclined to Presbytery (as some have maintained) it had been easy to have adopted the Scotch model at once; but as the bill for extirpating Episcopacy was not to take place for above a year forward, it is apparent that they were not willing it should take place at all, if in that time they could come to an accommodation with the King."* Soon, however, the necessities of the Parliament led them to court the Scotch still further, and in their demand for assistance after the battle of Edgehill, they plead the merit of what they had done in the matter of Church government. "We, the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of England, considering with what wisdom and public affection our brethren of the kingdom of Scotland did concur with the endeavours of this Parliament, and the desires of the whole kingdom in procuring and establishing a firm peace and amity between the two nations, and how lovingly they have since invited us to a nearer and higher degree of union in matters concerning religion and Church govern-

Parliament not in earnest in this matter.

Driven on by their need of the Scotch.

* Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 465.

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ment, which we have most willingly and affectionately embraced, and intend to pursue, cannot doubt but they will with as much forwardness and affection, concur with us in settling peace in this kingdom, and preserving it in their own."* Yet in spite of their need of the Scotch, it is probable that the Lords would have held out more stoutly against the bill for abolishing Episcopacy, had not the leading men absolutely declared that no propositions should be sent to the King for peace, till the bill had passed through the Lords' house; and thus many were led to agree to that thing which, of all others, was most likely to hinder peace, simply from the very great and general desire which all rational men entertained of procuring peace.

Oxford propositions.

In the propositions carried to the King at Oxford, it was desired:—"That your Majesty will be pleased to give your royal assent unto the bill for taking away the superstitious innovations; to the bill for the utter abolishing and taking away all archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans, sub-deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, canons and prebendaries, and all chanters, chancellors, treasurers, sub-treasurers, succentors and sacrists, and all vicars choral, and choristers, old vicars, and new vicars of any cathedral or collegiate church, and all other their under officers out of the Church of England;† to the bill against scandalous ministers, to the bill against pluralities,

* Clarendon, p. 314.

† "That they might gain his assent with more ease, they had, by an accursed strategem of hellish policy, vested by the bill all the bishops' lands in his Majesty's own person."—Walker, i., 12.

and to the bill for consultation to be had with godly, religious, and learned divines. That your Majesty will be pleased to promise to pass such other good bills for settling of Church government, as upon consultation with the assembly of the said divines, shall be resolved on by both Houses of Parliament, and by them presented to your Majesty."* The King in his answer to this, without even noticing the particular points of the proposal, merely desired them to prepare a bill for the better protecting of the Liturgy from the innovations and attacks of Brownists and sectaries. The proposals for peace came to nothing. The King's forces, especially in the north and west, gained a series of successes, the Parliament was in considerable straits, and the design for a more close and binding union with the Scotch went forward.

Chap. XX. 1643.

King's answer.

Accordingly on June 12, 1643, the Houses passed an ordinance "for the calling of an assembly of learned and godly divines, and others to be consulted with by the Parliament, for settling the government and Liturgy of the Church of England, and for vindicating and clearing the doctrine of the said Church from false aspersions and interpretations." The preamble sets forth that many things yet remained in the discipline, Liturgy, and government of the Church, which required a more perfect reformation, and it having been resolved by the Parliament that the present Church government is evil and justly offensive, and burdensome to the kingdom, and a great impediment to reforma-

Ordinance for assembly of divines.

* Clarendon, p. 337.

Chap. XX. 1643.

tion and growth of religion, &c., it is to be taken away, and such a government settled as may be most agreeable to God's Holy Word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the Church at home, and *nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland*, and other reformed churches abroad. For which purpose it had been determined to call an assembly of learned, godly and judicious divines, to advise on such matters connected with religion as should be proposed to them by the Parliament. It was therefore ordained that such persons as were named, were to meet at Westminster in King Henry the Seventh's Chapel, on July 1, 1643, and after the first meeting, being at the least of the number of forty, from time to time to sit until they were dissolved by Parliament. "And the said assembly shall have power to confer and treat among themselves, of such matters and things concerning the Liturgy, government, and discipline of the Church of England, or the vindicating and clearing the doctrine of the same from all false aspersions and misconstructions, as shall be proposed by either or both Houses of Parliament, and no other." The names which follow in the bill, are those of thirty lay assessors, ten lords, and twenty commoners, and one hundred and thirty-one divines.*

* The fullest account of the assembly of divines, is to be found in the minute journal of Dr. Lightfoot, one of their number, and in the letters and diaries of Robert Baillie, Principal of the University of Glasgow, who was one of the Scotch Commissioners—(3 vols. 8vo., Edinburgh, 1841). For a description of the assembly, see vol. ii., p. 108.

Chap. XX. 1643.

Act of open antagonism to the Church of England.

The calling of this Assembly was an act of distinct and open antagonism to the system of the Church of England. The Convocation was still in existence, though its sittings had been discontinued from necessity. The King immediately forbade the meeting of the Assembly. All, therefore, who sat in it, sat in direct contempt of the ancient system of the Church and the will of its temporal head—yet not, however, necessarily as enemies to Episcopacy, or approvers of the Presbyterian model. They were Puritans, and as such objected to the ceremonies, the *Book of Sports*, and the altarwise tables, but on the question of Church government and the sacraments they were not universally or broadly opposed to the divines who held with the King. Still, in no proper sense can the Westminster Assembly be regarded as a synod of the Church of England, and only so far as its proceedings affect the fortunes of the Episcopal Church, do they fall within the scope of our history.*

Meeting of the Assembly

Only sixty-nine divines out of the one hundred and twenty summoned appeared on July 1, and

* As might be expected, the Assembly has been keenly satirised by loyalist writers. The author of *Persecutio Undecima* calls them "a hocus-pocus conventical-synod, plucked out of each member's pocket on purpose to help out with some new religion, as their masters, who hired them with four shillings per diem, shall appoint. Yet, lest these divines, such as they be, should take any authority to themselves, the faction in Parliament have jostled in thirty of their lay-members as members of this linsy-woolsy synod, and, to make all sure, have ordered that this Assembly must meddle only with what shall be propounded to them from the Houses of Parliament, and, when all is done, their conclusions shall not bind till the Parliament give leave and consent." —*Persecutio Undecima*, p. 21.

Chap. XX. 1643.

Puritanism at last finds an expression.

of these only one, Dr. Featly, was considered to be well-disposed towards the ancient order of things. The others represented various shades of Puritanical peculiarity. It is this which gives an especial interest to the proceedings of the assembly. Puritanism, so long clamouring to be heard, is at length free. For nearly a century its pretensions had been advanced; it is now to be seen of what sort they are. Here are no hostile bishops and jeering King, as at the Hampton Court Conference; a friendly Parliament summons the long-oppressed divines to speak, and an expectant people is ready to listen.

Character of the Assembly

Unfortunately for them, however, some of their own number have chronicled their doings with a malicious accuracy, and in the minute record thus preserved to us we have the account of one of the most unpractical, contradictory, and turbulent assemblies which the annals of religious history mention. On no important point could anything like unity of opinion be arrived at. They wore away the time in long-winded and frivolous discussions. Recriminations and personal attacks were frequent, and only under the strongest pressure and urgent commands from Parliament could they arrive at any conclusion whatever. Neither is this to be wondered at. There was no demand for the Assembly. The country did not want to have all their creeds, their devotions, and their confessions recast. The calling of the Assembly was due, not to any great religious need of the nation, but to the necessity for conciliating the Scotch. In the next place, its members, being most of them men episcopally

ordained, who had for many years conformed and used the Liturgy, yet, under the pressure of external influences, stultified their former life by the upholding the Solemn League and Covenant, and the assertion of the Divine right of presbytery. Again, these divines, nominated by the members themselves, and being the most conspicuous men in the country of the party to which they belonged,* utterly failed to conciliate the respect of the men who had nominated them, were not trusted even to elect their own officers, were treated with little courtesy, sometimes even with derision,† and were openly used as a political tool, to wage war against the Church of England and its devoted adherence to the King. Chap. XX. 1643.

The celebration of public fasts had ever been a favourite practice with the Puritan party, and thus the Assembly began, as might be expected, with one of these.‡ In their petition to the Parliament for the appointment of a fast, they bewail, in very strong language, the brutish ignorance and palpable darkness of the people, the grievous and heinous They begin with a fast.

* "They were the honour of the Parliament's party."—Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 34.

† Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 68. Lord Clarendon's censure of the Westminster Assembly is well known, but evidently exaggerated. (*Rebellion*, p. 212.) Walker's account is that of a man in a furious passion; Neal's is temperate, and tolerably fair. "I believe," says this latter writer, "no set of clergy, since the beginning of Christianity, have suffered so much in their characters and reputations as these."—*Puritans*, iii., 49. Milton's fierce invective against them is enough to justify this. (See *History of England*, b. iii.)

‡ Fuller's *Church History*, xi., ix., 8.

Chap. XX. 1643.

pollution of the Lord's Supper,* the bold venting of corrupt doctrines, the profanation of the Lord's Day, and the prevalence of blind guides and scandalous livers among the clergy. These things they desire the Parliament to strive to remedy, and also to remove all monuments of superstition and idolatry, to execute justice on all delinquents, and to provide speedy relief for such of their brethren as were prisoners at Oxford, York, and elsewhere.† The prolocutor of the Assembly, Dr. Twisse, "a man," says Calamy, "very famous for his scholastical wit and writing,"‡ preached the first day of their meeting, and on the fast day Mr. Bowles and Mr. Newcomen.§ Dr. Twisse lamented the fact of the King having forbidden the

* "The promiscuous multitude everywhere not only allowed but even compelled to the receiving of it, multitudes of whom knew not whether Christ were a man or a woman, nor how many Gods there be; multitudes wallowing in all profaneness and licentiousness."—Marshall's *Sermon before the Commons*.

† Rushworth, ii., iii., 344.

‡ Calamy's *Life of Baxter*, i., 83. See Dr. S. Clarke's *Life of Dr. Twisse*, Joseph Mede's *Letters*, &c. Dr. Twisse, however, was a man unsuited for controlling a public assembly. "It was the canny convoyance," says Baillie, "of those who guide most matters for their own interest to plant such a man in the chair."—Baillie, ii., 108.

§ The powers of the Assembly, in enduring long devotional exercises, have, perhaps, never been exceeded. Dr. Baillie thus describes them: "After Dr. Twisse had begun with a brief prayer, Mr. Marshall prayed large most divinely *two hours*, confessing the sins of the members of the Assembly in a wonderfully pathetic and prudent way. After Mr. Arrowsmith preached one hour, then a psalm; thereafter Mr. Vines prayed near two hours, and Mr. Palmer preached one hour, and Mr. Seaman prayed near two hours, then a psalm. After Mr. Henderson brought them to heart," &c. This accounts for a continuous attention of at least nine hours.—Baillie, ii., 184.

Assembly by his proclamation, but hoped that he might hereafter own it;* and the members, after making a protestation that they would decide all matters by what they believed in their conscience to be the Word of God, proceeded to business. Chap. XX. 1643.

The business first assigned to them showed plainly enough that their meeting was not due to any great religious need. The Puritans had never complained specially of the Thirty-nine Articles. At the Hampton Court Conference, indeed, Dr. Reynolds wished that the Lambeth Articles might be embodied in them, but the absence of distinctive Calvinistic views had never been held to be a crying grievance. Yet the first work assigned to the Assembly by the Parliament was the revision of the Articles of the Church of England. "The design was," says Neal, "to render their sense more express and determinate in favour of Calvinism."† This design, if it was entertained, can scarcely be said to have been accomplished, for the divines, after having spent ten weeks in discussing the first fifteen Articles, left them very nearly as they found them, the only essential changes being —the doctrine of Christ's descent into hell explained away, the Article on the Creeds omitted, and, in the eleventh Article, Christ's obedience said to be imputed to us.‡ Revision of Thirty-nine Articles.

But the revision of the Articles was merely to

* Fuller's *Church History*, xi., ix., 4.

† Neal's *Puritans*, iii., 54.

‡ See the amended articles in Appendix to Neal's *Puritans*, vol. iii.

Chap. XX. 1643.

Arrival of Scotch Commissioners and tender of Covenant.

pass the time till the Scotch Commissioners arrived who were deputed by the General Assembly to extirpate Popery, Prelacy, Heresy, and Schism, and to establish a union between the two kingdoms in one Confession of Faith, one form of Church government, and one directory of worship.* With a view to this, very soon after their arrival, they tendered to the Parliament the solemn League and Covenant, a form of oath which they conceived most effectual towards their highest religious aspirations. The Parliament, without having any particular affection for the Scotch discipline, was, nevertheless, made aware from a source on which they could rely, that if they complied with the form of the Covenant, the whole body of the Scotch nation would "live and die with them, and speedily come to their assistance."† This was too great a bribe to resist, and the Covenant was referred to the Assembly to be considered and taken by the divines. It was awkward for men episcopally ordained, and who almost all had committed themselves to opinions favourable to moderate Episcopacy, to be asked to take an oath to extirpate prelacy. "They stumbled," says Calamy, "at some things in it, and especially at the word *Prelacy*.‡" Dr. Twisse, Dr. Burgess,§ Mr.

Assembly take the Covenant.

* Neal's *Puritans*, iii., 55.

† Neal's *Puritans*, iii., 56. *Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis*, p. 4.

‡ Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 81.

§ "Dr. Burgess captiously objected to the wording of the Covenant."—Lightfoot's *Journal of the Assembly of Divines*, p. 11. (Printed in Vol. 13 of Lightfoot's Works.)

Gataker, and several others, declined to swear simply against prelacy, they must have an explanatory clause. This at last was conceded to them, and the prelacy mentioned in the Covenant was declared to be "Church-government by archbishops, bishops, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical persons depending upon them." * It is difficult to see how this altered the matter, or how prelacy could be anything else besides Church-government by bishops. It appears, however, that this slight salvo was sufficient to satisfy the Episcopal predilections of the divines; and knowing, probably, that the Parliament meant them to take the Covenant, they did take it accordingly. The Commons, and then the Lords, speedily followed their example.† On the next Sunday it was read in all the London churches, and tendered to all the congregations.‡

Chap. XX. 1643.

Covenant tendered generally.

As this Covenant was now to be made the great weapon for persecuting the Church of England, it may be well to consider what its promoters had to urge in its favour. The House published an ex-

Observations on the Covenant.

* There was also inserted into the Covenant, at the instance of Sir H. Vane, the words, "According to the Word of God," in reference to the Reformation proposed. It is generally said that this was done with the design of making the form of Church Government an open question, but Mr. Hallam does not think that there was any design of this sort in the words added.

† "Many of them," says Hallam, "with extreme reluctance, both from a dislike to the innovation, and from a consciousness that it raised a most formidable obstacle to the restoration of peace."—*Const. Hist.*, i., 575.

The form of the Covenant taken, and afterwards enforced, will be found in Appendix C.

‡ Rushworth, iii., ii., 475. Neal's *Puritans*, iii., 61.

Chap. XX. 1643.

hortation for the *Satisfying such scruples as may arise in taking it*. In that age of excellently-written State-papers, this composition is almost unique for bombastic and involved phraseology, the substitution of declamation for argument, and the utter childishness of its contents. It is almost impossible to believe it the work of an assembly of divines, and one is irresistibly driven to remember how Milton stigmatized this conclave as "neither eminent for piety nor knowledge;" * and Clarendon declaimed against them as of "very mean parts in learning, if not of scandalous ignorance." † The only arguments advanced in favour of the Covenant in this paper are—(1.) That the Houses of Parliament, the City of London, and the Scotch had taken it; and (2.) That the whole nation stood virtually committed to it by the Declaration of Parliament, of May 5, 1641. The remainder of the paper is occupied in answering objections and labouring to establish precedents out of Jewish history. Under the first head it is stated, somewhat strangely, that there could be no objection to the extirpation of prelacy, considering "that this government was never formally established by any laws of this kingdom at all," and also "that the life and soul thereof were already taken from it by an act passed this Parliament;" ‡ therefore, although

* *History of England*, book iii.

† See Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, i., 30. Walton's *Life of Sanderson*. Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 421. "Most of the Presbyterians, truly, for my own part, when we speak of learning and conscience, I hold to be very little considerable."—Sanderson's Works, v., 23. Edition, 1854.

‡ Rushworth, iii., ii., 475-7.

men might have sworn to uphold it, yet, it being almost extinct, they might as well finish it.* Ezra and Nehemiah, Hezekiah and Mordecai, are quoted by way of sanctioning this strange doctrine;† but neither the pretended precedents nor the abusive epithets, such as "tongues set on fire of hell," "Jesuitical engineers," and "viperous and bloody generation," do much to recommend the Solemn League and Covenant. The quaint criticisms of Fuller are considerably more to the purpose. "People," he says, "might well be unsatisfied to swear the preservation of the reformed religion of Scotland in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, as being ignorant (such their distance thence, and small intelligence there) of the particulars thereof. They are loth to make a blind promise for fear of a lame performance.....Nor can they take this Covenant without injury and perjury to themselves. Injury by ensnaring their consciences, credits and estates if endeavouring to reform religion (under the notion of faulty and vicious), to which frequently they had subscribed, enjoined

* "He (Sanderson) wanted not courage to assert the true obligation of oaths in a degenerate age, when men had made perjury a main part of, or at least very useful to, their religion."—Walton's *Life of Sanderson*.

"This system of perjury lasted for many years, and belies the pretended religion of that hypocritical age."—Hallam's *Const. Hist.*, i., 569.

† "The example they pretend for this out of Ezra, makes against them, for there was no change of law or government attempted; and Ezra had good authority for what he did, being sent by the King with full commission to carry back the people to Jerusalem, and there to restore the temple and worship."—*Iniquity of Solemn League and Covenant* (1643), p. 3.

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thereto by the law of the land, not yet abrogated, never as yet checked by the regrets of their own consciences, nor confuted by the reasons of others for doing thereof. Perjury, as contrary to the solemn vow and protestation they had lately taken, and oath of supremacy, swearing therein to defend all the King's rights and privileges, whereof his spiritual jurisdiction in reforming Church-matters is a principal. Now, although a latter oath may be corroborative of the former, or constructive of a new obligation consistent therewith, yet can it not be inductive of a tie, contrary to an oath lawfully taken before." * In fact, the taking of the Covenant was equivalent to nothing less than the abjuration of the English Church ;† and the wonder is not that so many thousands of the clergy refused it, and bore joyfully the spoiling of their goods, and stripes and imprisonment, and cruel mockings and indignities, rather than thus sin against their consciences ; but that any of the more respectable and conscientious of them could be found thus to stultify all their previous professions and solemn declarations.‡ Even among those who did not agree with the orthodox clergy in their most cherished

* Fuller's *Church History*, xi., ix., 18—21. See, for the best criticism on the Covenant, the admirable paper drawn up by Sanderson, for the University of Oxford, which will be found noticed further on.

† See *Eikon Basiliké*, ch. xiv.

‡ "It is painful to contemplate the facility with which numerous clergymen renounced their own previously acknowledged views for a system directly at variance with their own church, in order to secure the aid of the Scotch against their King."—Lathbury's *Prayer Book*, p. 203.

principles, there were not wanting some who had sense and moderation enough to object to this test. Richard Baxter was strongly opposed to the Covenant. He preached and wrote against it, and used his great personal influence with the ministers of his neighbourhood to prevent them offering it to their people. "He could never judge it seemly," says Calamy, "for one believing in God to play fast and loose with a dreadful oath, as if the bonds of national and personal vows were as easily shaken off as Sampson's cords." And the attempts of some Episcopal divines, who tried to give a favourable explanation to their own conduct in having taken it, he treated as mere "juggling and jesting with matters too great to be jested with." * "The imposing it as a test," says Neal, the Puritan historian, "was not to be justified." † The King, in his Proclamation, described it as "a traitorous and seditious combination against us and the established religion and laws of this kingdom," ‡ and strictly ordered all his loving subjects not to presume to take it.

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But this oath enacted and taken by the Parliament and Assembly of Divines, came in now as a most convenient weapon to wield against the clergy who were faithful to the King. Instead of the trouble of depositions and evidence, summoning witnesses, and judicially examining, the committees simply tendered the Covenant to any clerk suspected of *malignancy*, and upon his refusal to take it, de-

Covenant a useful weapon against the loyal clergy.

* Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 104. † *Puritans*, iii., 64.
‡ Rushworth, iii., ii., 482.

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prived him of his living.* Those who were fortunate enough to escape the test, had nevertheless to see the obnoxious document hanging up in their churches in large type,† and were constantly kept in dread, lest at the suit of some troublesome parishioner they might suddenly be called upon to take it. All young ministers were required to take it at their ordination, as well as all laymen in offices of trust. As the war proceeded, it made fearful havoc among the clergy, and thousands of respectable and conscientious divines were driven from their homes, their families, and positions of usefulness by this vain and unjustifiable test. As the livings were rapidly vacated, the Assembly by the order of Parliament, proceeded to fill them up. The divines were not above securing some of the best for themselves, and astonished their friends by suddenly appearing as pluralists, a character which in former times they had not scrupled to denounce.‡

Livings filled up by the Assembly.

* "The fanatic's last engine to ruin the Church, and destroy the clergy root and branch."—*Persecutio Undecima*, p. 16. See Neal's *Puritans*, iii., 66-7. Walker, i., 105. Hallam's *Const. Hist.*, i., 576.

† "The fanatic anti-Christian idol set up in the temple of God."—*Persecutio Undecima*.—"I never saw the same," says Fuller, "except at a distance as hung up in churches," but to avoid taking it, he had to fly to the King's quarters, and lose all his livelihood.—Fuller's *Church Hist.*, xi., ix., 29, 30.

‡ "The most part of them were such as had preached and cried down with great show of zeal, the avarice and pluralities of bishops and prelates, and one cure of souls was a full employment for one spiritual pastor how able soever. Yet they wanted not boldness to the ignominy and scandal of their pastorlike profession to seize into their hands sometimes two or more of the best livings, collegiate masterships in the universities, rich lectures in the city, setting sail to all winds that might blow gain into their covetous bosoms."—Milton's *Character of the Assembly*, &c. See Lightfoot's *Journal of the Assembly*, pp. 108, 217.

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To appoint to others, a committee was selected, who after publishing the name of the proposed minister in the Assembly, and inviting any that pleased to make exceptions to him, and then themselves examining him, and causing him to preach a sermon before them, made the appointment in the name of the Assembly of Divines. They had a vast patronage to administer, as incumbent after incumbent was ejected by the Parliamentary committees for malignancy, or refusing to take the Covenant, and after Lord Manchester's visitation of of the University of Cambridge, they had on a sudden to supply ten heads of colleges, and several hundred fellows in place of those who had been summarily dismissed, for refusing to change their principles to order.* Of the masters of colleges appointed, no fewer than seven were members of the Assembly, and in the list of their appointments are found the distinguished names of Cudworth and Lightfoot.

How far the Liturgy was used before the formal suppression of Prayer Book.

It is hardly to be supposed that the new incumbents of the livings, being of course men of Puritanical and fanatical principles, would use the Liturgy of the Church of England to any great extent, and in the interval between the sanctioning the Covenant and formal superseding of the Liturgy by the Directory, it must have mainly depended

* Neal's *Puritans*, iii., 89, sq. Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, i., 111, sq. *Querela Cantabrigiensis*, p. 22.—It was found impossible to supply the vacancies with decent men. Anybody might have the inferior livings; and even then, Baillie says, "Some thousands of churches must *vake* for want of men."—Baillie, ii., 224.

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for its use on the principles of each particular minister.* The fanatics stigmatized it as a "mess of pottage," and called the reading-desk the "calves-coop," † and even in 1642, in many churches the offices of the Liturgy were abolished in favour of those of their own devising; or where the clergyman desired to read the service, the congregation struck up a psalm, and persisted in singing, until he abandoned the attempt to use the prayers, and made way for the sermon. ‡ The Scotch influence was violently hostile to what they called "the great idol of the service-book," § and the Assembly of Divines soon proceeded to devise something which should, in their view, be a vast improvement on the obsolete liturgical formularies of the Church of England.

Attempts of the Westminster Assembly to construct a substitute for Prayer Book.

But it was quickly to be shown, that though there might be unanimity in overthrowing Episcopacy, and though the Covenant under Scotch pressure and political need might be accepted by all, yet the very first efforts at construction would reveal the discordancy of the materials of which

* "It was partially used," says Mr. Lathbury, "by a considerable number of the clergy, and altogether by others."—*Hist. of Prayer Book*, p. 284.

† *Mercurius Rusticus*, p. 25. *Mercurius Aulicus*, Feb. 22, 1643. Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 26. *An Answer to a Defence of a Mess of Pottage Well Seasoned and Crumbed*, London, 1642. See Lathbury's *History of the Prayer Book*, pp. 195-6.

‡ *Persecutio Undecima*, p. 11. "It is too well known how a few (called zealous) young fellows rushing into any church in London could set up a psalm, and thereby sing a whole parish out of their religion, a trick they learnt from the Dutch anabaptists."

§ Baillie's *Letters*, ii., 17.

the assembly was composed. The professed Independents, Messrs. Goodwin, Nye, Simpson, Burroughs, and Bridges, were not men to remain silent when matters of Church government were in discussion.* They held that "every particular congregation of Christians has an entire and complete jurisdiction over its members, to be exercised by the elders thereof within itself."† "Communion and consociation of churches for counsel in doubts and comfort in distress," might be conceded, but they "decried any such combination of churches as whereby the true liberty of every particular church is taken away."‡ This (*they* were sure) was the primitive form of Church government, and they despised as modern inventions, classical, provincial, and general assemblies, and all the machinery of Presbyterianism. On the other hand, the Erastians, of whom there were some among the divines, and several more among the lay members of the Assembly seemed to supersede the pastoral office altogether, and to put the whole of the spiritual regimen into the hands of the civil magistrate.§ Should the divines unite together to overthrow these sentiments, so distaste-

* Baillie says, "There were ten or eleven Independents in the synod, many of them very able men."—*Letters*, &c., ii., 110. See also pp. 143, 177, 204. Lightfoot says seven. Those enumerated were the most active, especially Mr. Nye, who would not be silenced.—Lightfoot's *Journal*, pp. 167, 169.

† *Apologetical Narrative of the Independents*, p. 12.

‡ Burton's *Vindication of Independent Churches*, p. 18.

§ They held that the pastoral office was only *persuasive*, and declined to vote any scheme of discipline. See Baxter's *Autobiography*, pp. 109, 141.

Chap. XX. 1645.

ful to both Presbyterian and Independent, there was Mr. Selden with his vast learning ready at hand to support the opinions which he most favoured. "In these debates," says Whitelocke, "he spake admirably, and confuted divers of them in their own learning. And, sometimes, when they had cited a text of Scripture to prove their assertion, he would tell them, 'Perhaps in your little pocket bibles with gilt leaves' (which they would often pull out and read), 'the translation may be thus, but the Greek or the Hebrew signifies thus,' and so he would totally silence them."* The Anabaptists and Brownists appear not to have been represented in the Assembly, though their opinions were growing fast in the country, and already far more popular than the artificial organization of Presbyterianism,† but there were quite enough elements of disunion without the aid of these fanatics. One of the earliest topics which engaged the attention of the Assembly was that of ordination, on which point, as on all those touching Church discipline, the fundamental difference of view between Presbyterian and Independent caused an internecine strife. The former held, that though the call was to proceed from a congregation, the approval of it, and the solemn induction into the

Ordination.

* Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 68. Baillie's *Letters*, ii., 360. It is evident, from Lightfoot's *Journal*, that Selden continually started abstruse, and sometimes absurd points, simply to perplex and confuse the divines, at whom he was laughing in his sleeve.—See Lightfoot's *Journal*, pp. 121, 153, 179.

† Baillie's *Letters*, ii., 320. "As yet a Presbytery to this people is conceived to be a strange monster."—ii., 117.

work of the ministry, must belong to the Presbytery of the district. The Independents, on the other hand, did not hold that ordination was essential; the choice of the congregation was, in their view, everything, and if neighbouring ministers were called in to pray and impose their hands on the candidate, it was not as elders having power to confer or withhold a privilege, so much as elder-brethren solemnly commending him to his work, that this was done. Forty long sessions* were spent upon this matter before anything could be decided on. Chap. XX. 1645.

The Directory for public worship, which was to supersede the Common Prayer, was agreed to the more readily because it did not prescribe any exact form, but in its vagueness and generality left Presbyterian and Independent to follow very much their own fancies. This, after having been drawn up by a committee,† and approved by the Scotch General Assembly, was established by an ordinance of Parliament, bearing date January 3, 1645, in which the use of the Common Prayer is henceforth strictly forbidden.‡ In its preface, this document traduces Directory for public worship.

* Baillie, ii., 169.

† The Scotch Commissioners had a principal share in this committee. The part on preaching was drawn up by Mr. Marshall, that on catechising by Mr. Palmer.—Baillie, ii., 140.

‡ Husband's *Collection*, p. 715. Another ordinance, bearing date August 11, confirmed the former one, under penalties. Any one using the Common Prayer, either publicly or privately, was to be fined five pounds for the first offence, ten pounds for the second, for the third a year's imprisonment. Any minister not using the Directory was to be fined forty shillings for each offence, &c.—Husband's *Coll.*, p. 716.

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the English Liturgy, as "having proved an offence, not only to many of the godly at home, but also to the reformed churches abroad.* For, not to speak of urging the reading of all the prayers, which very greatly increased the burden of it, the many unprofitable and burdensome ceremonies contained in it have occasioned much mischief, as well by disquieting the consciences of many godly ministers and people, who could not yield unto them, as by depriving them of the ordinances of God, which they might not enjoy without conforming or subscribing to those ceremonies†.....Add hereunto that the Liturgy hath been a great means to make and increase an idle and unedifying ministry, which contented itself with forms made to their hands by others," &c.‡ Such charges as these against our holy and venerable Liturgy, scarce needed the learning of Henry Hammond, or the eloquence of Jeremy Taylor, to refute them, although their treatises were bold and valuable testimonies for the truth in these times of rebuke.§ It is well ob-

* John Vicars is more outspoken. "Our atheistical and ignorant Protestants, whose greatest divinity is in their dunsical service book, and in their most loose and lazy hedge priests' frothy preaching, prating, babbling, or railing against God's choicest children," &c.—*Jehovah-Jireh*, p. 325.

† Judge Jenkins says, on the contrary: "In many hundreds of churches of England, that have not means to maintain a preacher, there is not a sermon in half a year. And this idol, as they call it, being taken away, what gross ignorance will these poor souls fall into."—*Scourge for the Directory*, p. 1.

‡ Preface to *Directory*, Neal's *Puritans*, vol. iii., Appendix.

§ *View of the New Directory*, Hammond's *Works*, i., 132. *Apology for Authorized and Set Forms of Liturgy*, Taylor's *Works*, v., 228. (Ed. 1859.)

served by Hammond, that the prescribing of the matter, which is done in the Directory, is as much a stinting of the spirit, as the prescribing a form of words, and he boldly asserts that there were not ten divines in the Assembly who really thought all liturgy unlawful.* Chap. XX. 1645.

The service contemplated in the Directory was to begin with prayer, the general subject of which was prescribed; then the minister was to read some chapters of Scripture, and after that to pray again at greater length. Then, after the singing of the psalm, was to follow the sermon, for the composition of which directions are given,† then a concluding prayer and another psalm. There are likewise directions given of a similar character for the administration of the sacraments,‡ and the solemnization of matrimony,§ and an order for no ceremonial to be observed at the burial of the dead.‖ This last was probably the most startling

* Pp. 142, 134. See *Eikon Basiliké*, ch. xvi.

† "Mr. Whitacre opposed our making a Directory for preaching as needless, and he queried of what use this Directory should be."—Lightfoot's *Journal*, p. 277.

‡ One of the great struggles between the Presbyterians and Independents was on the directions for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The Independents contended that there should be no words used at the delivery of the elements, and that they should be given to the communicants in their seats. "They kept us," says Baillie, "three weeks on one point alone, the communicating at a table."—Baillie, ii., 204, 187. See Lightfoot's *Journal*, pp. 286-7.

§ Yet Mr. Marshall, one of the Assembly divines, married his own daughter by the Book of Common Prayer, and with the use of a ring.—C. Walker's *History of Independency*, p. 80.

‖ "Mr. Rutherford said that there is no more reason for any part of worship to be at the going of a person out of the world than at his birth."—Lightfoot's *Journal*, p. 338.

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and shocking of the changes which the new way of worship introduced. To deny to the mourners the words of holy hope and Christian trust, to refuse to them the sad satisfaction of joining together in prayer over the grave of the deceased, was an act of hard-hearted and fanatical cruelty.

Its character.

And what a miserable provision was the whole Directory scheme for the edifying worship of a Christian congregation! The rules for composing prayers, long and tedious though they are, would be utterly inefficient to supply to the dull or fanatical preacher the power of giving forth devotions, which should at once be earnest and calm. The repetitions, which it was sought to avoid, would be endlessly multiplied; and the personal peculiarities of each minister interposed between the congregation and the God whom they were met to worship.* We cannot wonder that the Directory never became popular† in England, or that the people soon learned to long for the chastened fervour of the Book of Common Prayer.‡ It was thus, that when portions of the Liturgy were used by those of the orthodox clergy, who still were allowed to continue their ministrations, they were so

* "Master Presbyter to do as his fickle brains serve him."—Judge Jenkins, *Scourge for the Directory*. "The worship of God left to the management of chance, indeliberation, and a petulant fancy."—Jeremy Taylor, v., 235. See the *thirty-one* great faults of the Directory, which he enumerates, v., 252.

† "It proved not to the satisfaction of any one party of Christians."—Neal, iii., 252. "Presbyterians confessed that Directory was more defective than Common Prayer."—Pierce's *Discoverer*, &c., p. 147.

‡ Lathbury's *Prayer Book*, p. 285.

highly valued. It became not an uncommon practice among these to use the substance of the Book of Common Prayer in their services, but without the book, and as though conforming to the Directory. Thus Sanderson and Jeremy Taylor ministered; * and when George Bull, afterwards the famous Bishop of St. David's, used from memory the baptismal service of the Church, it was hailed by an auditory, long accustomed to fanaticism, as an unwonted expression of genuine piety.† Chap. XX. 1645.

Scarce less a shock than was felt at the suppression of the Liturgy, must have been given to all sober-minded men in England, when the observance of the great festival of the Nativity was forbidden by an ordinance of Parliament. Christians were no longer to rejoice on Christmas-day. The sour asceticism of Puritanism, which had long grudged the universal joy at this sacred season, was at last triumphant. On the other hand, the observation of the Lord's day was enjoined by numerous ordinances, and a much greater strictness enforced than had previously prevailed. Observance of Christmas forbidden.

And now, as time wore on, and the number of

* Lathbury's *History of Prayer Book*, pp. 288-90-300.

† Nelson's *Life of Bull*, p. 34. Edition 1827. "Mr. Bull formed all the devotions he offered up in public, while he continued minister of that place, out of the Book of Common Prayer, which did not fail to supply him with fit matter and proper words upon all those occasions that required him to apply to the throne of grace for a supply of the wants of his people. He had the example of one of the brightest lights of that age, the judicious Dr. Sanderson, to justify him in this practice."—Nelson, p. 33. More will be found on this practice of Dr. Sanderson's in another place.

Chap. XX. 1645. Directory for for Ordination published.

deprived ministers increased, it became absolutely necessary for the Parliament to make some arrangement for Ordination. Accordingly, they published the Directory for Ordination,* which, after so many struggles, had been agreed to by the Assembly of Divines. This, after having given the rules for ordinary times, and when the Presbyterian discipline should be settled in the Church, prescribed also what was to be done in the present emergency. Under the complete development of Presbyterianism, the candidate for orders is to be examined in the face of the congregation to which he is going to minister, and the people are to signify their acceptance of him; upon which the Presbytery, if they ratify the choice, are to proceed to the imposition of hands. But as this was impossible, when as yet the Presbyterian discipline was not established, committees of divines were, for the present, to be appointed in London and some of the larger towns to ordain for the neighbourhoods.

Debates in the Assembly about Church Government.

The debates between the Presbyterians and Independents, which had been so eager on the subject of ordination, became still more acrimonious when the Assembly came to discuss a new form of discipline and Church government. Presbyterians and Independents alike held that a certain form was set forth in Scripture, but differed entirely as to its nature; † while the Erastians contended against

* Neal's *Puritans*, vol. iii., Appendix iii. Baillie's *Letters*, ii., 224.

† "We have been in a pitiful labyrinth these ten days about ruling elders, we yet stick in it."—Baillie, ii., 115. "This held

both that the claims of each for a definite Divine sanction were equally vain. The lay members took part in the controversy, Mr. Whitelocke arguing in the Erastian interest, "Whether Presbytery, Episcopacy, Independency, or any other form of Church government, be *jure divino*—that is, whether there be a prescript, rule, or command of Scripture, for any of those forms will not be admitted by many as a clear thing. It may, therefore, be not unworthy your consideration whether it will not at this time be more prudent to forbear to declare your judgments in this point. The truth will, nevertheless, continue the same." * Mr. Coleman went further, declaring in the pulpit that Presbytery would prove as arbitrary and tyrannical as prelacy, if it came in upon a Divine claim.†

A Presbyterian scheme voted.

For thirty days the debate continued, but at length the Assembly, by a large majority, voted a scheme of Church government, in all its main parts fashioned after the Presbyterian model. By this it was provided that in each congregation ‡ there was to be, at least, one pastor or doctor to labour in the word and doctrine; others, lay elders, to join with him in government; others, deacons,

them tugging with the Independents the rest of that day, and Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday." — Lightfoot's *Journal*, p. 270. "Dr. Burgess moved for the avoiding of endless debate, that we might still draw up how far we agree, and that we might leave this course which we have followed this week of giving leave to them to object."—*Ibid.*, p. 142.

* Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 95. Baillie, ii., 360.

† Neal, iii., 220.

‡ The congregations were to be not "gathered," but determined by local boundaries.

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to attend to the necessities of the poor. These officers were to meet in assemblies (1) congregational, in which the officers of a particular congregation were to have power to call before them the members of a congregation, to inquire into their spiritual state, to admonish and rebuke, and, if necessary, to suspend from the Holy Communion; (2) classical, to consist of the governors of several congregations, in a district more or less large; (3) provincial, national, and œcumenical, to consist of such of the elders as may be lawfully called thereunto.* The Assembly voted this scheme to be of *Divine appointment*, though the majority of them had, at their first meeting, held views in favour of Episcopacy.

Parliament refuses to vote its Divine right.

Not quite so pliant, however, were the members of the House of Commons. Though not desirous to break with the Scotch, to whose army they were indebted for a timely aid, the leaders of the House began already to see their way to success by another road; and having no theological prejudices in favour of Presbyterianism, they declined to vote its Divine right.† The Scotch Commissioners and the Assembly Divines who followed their lead, had

* Neal's *Puritans*, vol. iii., Appendix iii.

† "The Assembly is much discouraged. They find their advice altogether slighted, a kind of nominal Presbytery set up, sects daily spreading over the land, a clear aim in the dominant party to have liberty universal."—Baillie's *Letters*, ii., 320. "The two golden calves of Presbytery and Independency set up in our days to cover Jeroboam's policy for a new government. Presbytery being thought, at first, a cloke large enough to suit all turns till new designs started up Independency."—*Persecutio Undecima*, p. 7.

brought the question into the House when it was very thin, hoping to carry the *jus divinum* by surprise; but Mr. Glynne spoke against time for an hour, and Mr. Whitelocke followed him, and the members coming in, refused to agree to the proposition.* For this, Whitelocke and Glynne were thanked by the House, but the Scotch Commissioners were excessively disappointed, and tried every means to get the Divine right affirmed. The Parliament, however, were stedfast, and even passionate, in their refusal. They declined also to allow the Presbyteries the power of excommunication, without reserving the right of appeal to a committee of themselves.† It was, therefore, with this limitation that the Presbyterian form of Church government was finally settled as the National Establishment on June 6, 1646. The Scotch Commissioners had been compelled to listen to the hateful project of a toleration, not only for the Independents, but even for all sects,‡ and were at last glad to compound for the enactment of a scheme similar to their own, without any formal declaration that it was in all its points of Divine origin.

* Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 106. Walker, i., 32.

† Baillie's *Letters*, ii., 315, 348. Neal's *Puritans*, iii., 228. Kennett's *Complete History*, iii., 148. Fuller's *Church History*, xi., ix.

‡ "The great shot of Cromwell and Vane, is to have a liberty for all religions without any exceptions. Many a time we are put to great trouble of mind."—Baillie, ii., 230. "We hope God will assist us to demonstrate the wickedness of such a toleration."—p. 328. "They plead for a toleration for other sects, as well as themselves; in our answer we did flatly deny such a vast liberty."—p. 343.

Chap. XX. 1646-8.

The Assembly's catechisms.

Besides the labours which we have enumerated, the Assembly of Divines was occupied in drawing up two catechisms, a longer and a shorter, the former of which, with the Scripture proofs, occupies 157 quarto pages, and the latter 40. That even the shorter catechism was not much suited for the capacity of children, is apparent at a glance. The first question asks, "What is the chief end of man?" and others are directed to inquire concerning the decrees of God, and the more mysterious parts of his Providence.

Its confession of faith.

The last act of much importance in which the Assembly was engaged, was the compiling the heads of a "Confession of Faith" with Scriptural references, which was presented to the House in the beginning of December, 1646. This document was designed to supersede the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, and thus a complete system, according to the Presbyterian model, was constructed to take the place of that established at the Reformation.

The Assembly gradually dwindles away.

Before this time, however, the divines, seeing the main portion of their work completed, and despairing of inducing the Parliament to vote the divine right of Presbytery, were becoming anxious to return to the snug benefices with which they had provided themselves. They began to fall off in their attendance by degrees, and the Assembly dwindled away without any formal proroguing or dissolving.* For some time longer, indeed, it existed as a sort of committee for religious affairs,

* Kennett's *Complete History*, iii., 152. Baillie's *Letters*, ii., 196.

until at last it expired with the Presbyterian party in the Parliament which had given it birth.*

Its scheme never carried out.

An election of elders under the new scheme of Church discipline had been ordered, and on May 3, 1647, the provincial assembly of London met in the Convocation House at St. Paul's.† In Lancashire also, the scheme appears to have been carried into execution about this time.‡ With these exceptions, however, the arrangement never took full effect.§ By the grand ordinance, passed August 29, 1648, the Commons give detailed directions for the division of the country into classes (approving of what had already been done in London and Lancashire) and declare the powers of the congregational, classical, provincial, and national assemblies; but by this time the Independents were uppermost in the state, and the Presbyterial discipline could no longer obtain any real support.‖ "They write," says Dr. Bastwick,

* Neal's *Puritans*, iii., 386.

† Kennett, iii., 159. The City of London was the great stronghold of the Presbyterians. "Of one hundred and twenty-one city ministers," says Baillie, "there are not three Independents."—Baillie, ii., 271. "O what a most rare, blessed and strange change is already wrought in the City of London," says John Vicars. "O what a company of stinking snuffs are put out, and what rare and radiant tapers are set up."—*Jehovah-Jireh*, 326.

‡ Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, i., 39.

§ "We know of no place but London and Lancashire, where it was commonly taken up, and some little of it at Coventry, and some few such places, and that was only as a tolerated and commended thing, and came to nothing in a short time."—Baxter quoted by Lathbury, *Hist. Prayer Book*, p. 303. See Calamy's *Life of Baxter*, i., 85, 86.

‖ Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, i., 38, 39.

Chap. XX. 1646-8. Checked by rising power of the Independents.

"against the very ordinances of Parliament, daily publishing pamphlets against all their proceedings, preaching and practising hourly against the Covenant, and many known ordinances.....their preachers run from place to place preaching against the reverend assembly and the Presbytery, calling the painful and godly ministers Baal's priests, and the limbs of anti-Christ, and so persecute them in words and deeds, that they cannot safely dwell by them where there is any number of sectaries."* "Goodwin and Nye," says Sir P. Warwick, "and the rest of that Independent gang who not long before had dolefully bewailed themselves that they could not comply with the Directory, and the new-intended model of Church government agreed to be set up by the Assembly of Divines, and therefore they were to be sequestered, do now on a sudden give a law to their rulers."† Upon this rising and powerful faction, whose principal strength was in the army,‡ the policy of Cromwell obliged him to lean, and, happily for the interests of the Church of England, their intense antipathy to Presbyterianism prevented its effectual establishment in the country, while their own mad excesses soon made the nation long for the calm and holy ritual which had been for a moment discarded.

* Bastwick's *Utter Routing of the whole Army of Sects*, 1646. Epistle to the reader.

† Sir P. Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 290.

‡ Baxter's *Autobiography*, pp. 50, 51. Baillie's *Letters*, ii., 170.

## CHAPTER XXI.



State of the clergy during the war—Bishop Hall at Norwich—Sequestrations and sufferings of the clergy—Substitutes provided—King's proclamation—Retaliation on Puritanical clergy Lecturers appointed—Divines on both sides excite to war—Scandalous accusations against the loyal clergy—At first no theological issue between the parties—Change in condition of clergy by the work of Assembly of Divines—Persecution by the London committees—The country committees—Railing against the clergy—Destruction of sacred things and monuments—Tumults to preserve sacred things—Individual instances of suffering—Mr. John Squire—Dr. Daniel Featly—Mr. Edward Simmons—Dr. Uty—Clergy sequestered without hearing of an accusation—Loyal clergy generally sequestered—Substitutes unable to be found—Ejected clergy and their families reduced to poverty—Dr. Peterson—Hopes of relief from the Independents—Clergy's letter to Sir T. Fairfax—No favour to be hoped for them from either party—The trial of Archbishop Laud—Outrages on the Archbishop's papers—The hostility of the Scotch—Additional articles against Laud—His trial—Bill of attainder—Defends himself before the Commons—His sentence—Last speech—Execution—Prostrate state of the Church of England—The King's fidelity to it—Negotiations at Uxbridge—At Newcastle—With the Independents—At Newport—His chaplains given back to him—Concessions made by the King—The army seizes the King, and coerces the Parliament—The King sentenced to death—His pious preparation—Bishop Juxon—The King's last bequests—His execution—Funeral—Service for January 30—Presbyterians coerced by the Independents—The Oxford visitation—The protest against the Covenant—The contemptuous treatment of the visitors—Their work retarded—Dr. Hammond—Dr. Sanderson—Archbishop Usher—Archbishop Williams—Reflections on the sufferings of the Clergy.

Chap. XXI. 1642-9. State of the clergy during the war.

BUT while the Assembly of Divines at Westminster was occupied in reconstructing the religion of the nation, what in the meantime was the state of the orthodox clergy? The King and Parliament being at actual and open war, the clergy were necessarily driven into union with one or the other. Many doubtless desired to remain neutral, but in the pressure of civil war this is scarce possible; violence and excess everywhere provoked retaliation, and the country was ranged in two hostile camps. The attacks which were made in the earlier days of the Parliament on individual clergymen who had made themselves obnoxious by their disciplinarian strictness, or their addiction to ceremonial, were made professedly on religious, not on political grounds. The committees were to punish and suspend *scandalous priests*,* and the Parliament, in fact, assumed to exercise the anomalous power of the great religious censor of the nation. But when it came to actual war, the clergy who adhered to the King were regarded politically as enemies to be destroyed without scruple. Their revenues, if they could be seized upon, were an obvious and valuable resource for the necessitous parliament.

* A grand committee of the whole house was first appointed (Nov. 6, 1640) to inquire into scandalous ministers. Nov. 19, a sub-committee was appointed "to consider how there may be preaching ministers set up where there are none." Of both of these Mr. White was chairman. This was again subdivided from the press of business into several smaller committees called from the chairmen, White's, Corbet's, Harlow's, Dering's, &c.—Neal's *Puritans*, iii., 21.

Accordingly almost immediately after the declaration of war, we find a committee appointed "for the sequestration of the lands of bishops, and of deans and chapters, to be employed for the defence of the commonwealth."* Chap. XXI. 1642-9.

The bishops had been allowed to leave the Tower and retire to their sees, but they had not been long at liberty when all their revenues were thus wrested from them. "For myself," says Bishop Hall, "addressing myself to Norwich, whither it was his Majesty's pleasure to remove me, I was at the first received with more respect than in such times I could have expected. There I preached the day after my arrival to a numerous and attentive people, and enjoyed peace till the ordinance of sequestration came forth. Then when I was in the hope of receiving the profits of the foregoing half year for the maintenance of my family, were all my rents stopped and diverted, and in the April following came the sequestrators to the palace, and told me that by virtue of an ordinance of Parliament, they must seize upon the palace, and all the estate I had both real and personal, which they did with all diligent severity, not leaving so much as a dozen of trenchers, or my children's pictures, out of their curious inventory."† Bishop Hall at Norwich.

April 1, 1643, was passed an ordinance "for the sequestration of estates of notorious delinquents," which included the whole of the clergy Sequestrations and sufferings of the clergy.

* Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 60.

† *Hard Measure*, Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 305.

Chap. XXI. 1642-9.

who had declared for the King.* Under this Jeremy Taylor was sequestered from his living of Uppingham,† and great numbers of the clergy were deprived. Those who did not escape to the King were seized and put in confinement in the various bishop's houses, as at Lambeth, Winchester, and Ely, and some of them even imprisoned on board ships in the river Thames, and shut down under hatches, no friend being allowed to see them. The London clergy, who were the most easily reached, appear to have suffered most extensively, more than one hundred of them being turned out of their livings during the years 1642 and 1643; and in the fierce tumults raised by the sectaries, the clergy suffered perhaps still greater hardships than by the more deliberate oppression of Parliament.‡ To fill the places of those who had been deprived or intimidated into resignation or flight, the puritanical clergy, who had in former days been silenced, or had emigrated, came back in great numbers. These men were preferred to the sequestered benefices, "but," says Collier, "to keep them servile and true to the cause, they were but, as it were, tenants at will, and held their livings only *durante bene placito*."§

Substitutes provided.

* Walker, i., 13.

† Heber's *Life of Taylor*, p. 20. See Fell's *Life of Hammond*, Wordsworth, iv., 327.

‡ *Persecutio Undecima*, pp. 2, 3. Pierce's *New Discoverer Discovered*, p. 145. Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii., 180. Neal's *Puritans*, iii., 20. Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 363. *Mercurius Rusticus, passim, Querela Cantabrigiensis*, p. 6.

§ Collier's *Church History*, viii., 246. "And here give me leave to observe one thing, and it is the reason which was alleged in the sequestration of Mr. Simmons' Parsonage, and, indeed, is

Against this proceeding the King set forth his Proclamation, on May 15, in which he takes notice that "several of the clergy, eminent for their piety and learning, were forced from their cures and habitations, or otherwise silenced and prohibited the exercise of their function, for no other reason but because they would not break the laws, and act counter to their consciences, because they would not pray against him and his assistants, because they refused the publishing illegal commands and orders for fomenting the unnatural war raised against him. That these unexceptionable clergy being thus turned out of their livings, many factious and schismatical persons were intruded upon them: that the intruders had an assignment of part of the profits of the said benefices, and that the rest was converted to the supporting the war against him; therefore his majesty strictly commands all his good subjects to desist from such illegal courses against any of the clergy aforesaid, and to pay their tithes to their respective incumbents or their assigns, without fraud, notwithstanding any sequestration, pretended ordinances, or orders whatsoever, from one or both Houses of Parliament."*

King's Proclamation.

generally used in all these sequestrations, and it is 'for the better supply of an able and godly man in the said Church.' I would they could tell us where we should find those two epithets, able and godly, to meet in any one of those which they have substituted in the revenues and employments of those orthodox divines whom they have banished from their cures and their families. Do but survey the plantations they have made, and you will think Jeroboam's priests were risen again from the dead, the lowest and basest of the people," &c.—*Mercurius Rusticus*, p. 19.

* Collier, viii., 247.

Chap. XXI. 1642-9.

Retaliation on Puritanical clergy.

Persecution, however, appears not to have been confined to one side. If the Parliament ejected malignants, the King's army did not spare Puritans, or any against whom a suspicion could be raised of being puritanically inclined. Richard Baxter, a moderate man, and unexceptionable witness, says, "If one was noted for a strict and famous preacher, or for a man of a precise and pious life, he was either plundered or abused, or in danger of his life;" and when he was at Coventry, at the beginning of the war, he says, "there were above thirty ministers in the city, who fled thither for safety from soldiers and popular fury."*

Lecturers appointed.

Very early in their sitting, the Parliament had encouraged the appointment of lecturers, and all parishes were invited, if they pleased, to indulge themselves in the hitherto forbidden luxury of afternoon sermons. July 12, 1641.—The Parliament ordered, that "in all parochial churches, where there is no preaching in the afternoon, if the parishioners will maintain a *conformable* lecturer at their own charge, the parson, or vicar, shall give way to it, unless he will preach himself;" and, September 6, in the same year, they ordered, "that it shall be lawful for the parishioners of any parish to set up a lecturer, and to maintain an *orthodox* minister at their own charge, to preach every Lord's Day, where there is no preaching, and to preach one day in every week where there is no weekly lecture."† Soon, however, the Parliament went further than this, and began themselves to

* Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 44.

† Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, i., 18.

nominate lecturers in very many places.* It is evident that this step, no less than sending commissioners into the counties to remove superstitious monuments (as they termed them), must have been a fruitful source of contention and tumult. The Parliamentary lecturers railed against the King, and many of the clergy were, doubtless, equally fierce on the other side. "O, that this reproach," says Dr. Gauden, "were with truth now to be contradicted and confuted, which hath so heavily befallen us, and so justly, since too many ministers became so pragmatic, so impertinent, so unsuccessful in state policies, in worldly projects, in secular agitations, in counsels and actions of war and blood, which they have agitated more intensively than Church affairs, or matters properly religious."† "The divines on both sides," says Clement Walker, "sounded alarum, and inflamed the people to the rage of battle as the elephant is enraged at the sight of red."‡

Chap. XXI. 1642-9.

Divines on both sides excite to war.

But there was one weapon to which the Parliamentary party did not scruple to resort, but with which the King, much to his credit, would not suffer his followers to retaliate.§ In the *First Century of Scandalous and Malignant Priests*,‖

Scandalous accusations against the loyal clergy.

* Walker, i., 19. † Gauden's *Hieraspistes*, p. 23.

‡ *Observations upon the Parliament*, p. 1.

§ "How many centuries might be made of debauched creatures (among the Presbyterians), who were not only not punished, but very carefully preserved and advanced also, because they could cotton with the times, and preach the people to disobedience."—Pierce's *New Discoverer Discovered*, p. 141.

‖ "There was a promise of a second, which, to my knowledge, never came forth."—Fuller, xi., ix., 33. Yet Calamy speaks of

Chap. XXI. 1642-9.

published by Mr. John White, Chairman of the Committee for Religion, clergymen are by name charged with the foulest offences. Accusations of drunkenness, lewdness, profanity, &c., are made, often evidently on the most slender foundations,* and, with a ruthless and reckless malice, the cha-

it. (See following note.) Pierce, writing against Baxter, says, "You speak of centuries in the plural, whereas in truth there was but one, and that so scandalous a pamphlet, that its author was ashamed to pursue his thoughts of any other."—Pierce's *New Discoverer Discovered*, p. 140.

* Walker's *Sufferings*, i., 42-45, 65; Fuller's *Church History*, xi., ix., 32, and Clarendon. Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 87. "Both" (pamphlets), says Calamy, "are filled with most abominable particularities, the concealing which had certainly been a much greater service to religion than their publication, which was but making sport for atheists, papists, and profane." Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 21. "It is not to be imagined that the fanatics would conceal the shame of any clergyman, when they so raked each dunghill and corner to discover it.....But if no proof could be found of crimes and vicious conversation in a clergyman, then came in the politic counsel of the heathenish presidents against Daniel, 'we shall not find any accusation against this Daniel except we find it against him concerning the law of his God.'..... See here a catalogue of crimes charged against the clergy, collected out of the first century, authorised to be published in print by the Parliament:

"Bowing at the name of Jesus. Examples 33, 43.
"Setting up the name Jesus in the church. Examples 72, 83.
"Preaching against sacrilege. Example 22.
"Bowing in God's House. Example 7.
"Assisting the King. Examples 33, 43.
"Reading the King's Proclamations. Examples 28, 34, 52.
"Appointing the 43rd Psalm to be sung. Example 29.
"Preaching against not coming to their own parish church. Examples 21, 35, 38.
"Reading and having Popish books. Examples 88, 55.
"Seen in company with Papists. Example 88."

*Persecutio Undecima*, p. 15.

See on this subject the admirable remarks of Mr. Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, i., 553.

racters of the unfortunate men who, at the bidding of a clerical superior, had enforced bowing to the altar, and kneeling at the rails, are hideously blackened. "The royalists," says Collier, "offered to return the reproach with much more force upon the Puritan party, but the King, who thought common Christianity might suffer in the contest, refused to give leave for such an undertaking."* Chap. XXI. 1642-9.

When blood had been actually shed, and all men forced into one side or the other, the bitterest animosities, doubtless, prevailed between the divines of the opposite parties. Still there was no distinct theological issue at first raised between them.† Not all on the Parliament side were against bishops; the Liturgy was still used by some who favoured the popular party, while, on the other hand, many were found fighting under the King's banners who had been most forward at the beginning of the Parliament in declaiming against the Laudian system. Such were Lord Falkland, Lord Digby, and many others. It was not from religious conviction, but from the pressure of political necessities, that Presbyterian views gained a momentary ascendancy. The aid of the Scotch promised to turn the scale against the armies of the King; the Erastian leaders of the Commons eagerly schemed to make political capital out of religious sentiment, and the Assembly of Divines met at Westminster to help forward the busy projects of the men who had procured their nomination. At first no theological issue between the parties.

* Collier's *Church History*, viii., 24-7. Fuller, xi., ix., 33.
† Pierce's *New Discoverer Discovered*, p. 137.

Chap. XXI. 1642-9.

Change in position of clergy by the work of the Assembly of Divines.

By their work, as we have sketched it in the last chapter, the position of the clergy became altogether changed. No divine now could hold with the Parliament without accepting the Covenant and Directory, and thereby becoming false to the Church of which he had been ordained a minister.* The political persecution of the clergy, as favourers of the King, merges into a persecution for the very fundamental principles of churchmanship. They were now, of necessity, called to face a terrible ordeal and to prove the sincerity of their profession by a bold resistance, even if it should involve the loss of all. It was not a question of ceremonial or temporal power, but of the very heart of religion, whether they would abandon the Church of their fathers—the Church of the primitive Christians—for the modern dreams of a distempered fanaticism.

Persecution by the London Committees.

To make them do this, the Presbyterian faction now triumphant, and the Parliament embittered in the struggles of civil war, strove, with a reckless and unsparing cruelty. The persecution, dating from the very beginning of the Long Parliament, by means of irresponsible committees, ready to receive every malicious accusation and to act without proof or regard to moderate and legal courses, still continued after the Covenant had been enacted. These tribunals laboured to ruin, defame, and crush the clergy who held fast to their principles. The

* "The Covenant drove out all who were too conscientious to pledge themselves by a solemn appeal to the Deity to resist the polity which they generally believed to be of his institution."—Hallam's *Const. Hist.*, i., 576.

unfortunate clerks who were summoned before the committees for scandalous ministers had a terrible ordeal to pass through from the excited state of the populace, stirred up as men were by fanatical exhortations and the gross imputations against the clergy, which were everywhere prevalent. "The committees," says the author of the *Eleventh Persecution*, "were made several stages for continual clergy-baiting. Mine ears still tingle at the loud clamours and shoutings there made in derision of grave and reverend divines by that rabble of sectaries which daily flocked thither to see their new pastime." * The attacks begun in London were continued and multiplied in the country. Country committees were appointed, whose members were country gentlemen or tradesmen in the interest of the Parliament, to search out, censure, and deprive *malignant* clergy, or those who refused to accept the Covenant and falsify all their previous professions by upholding the Directory and Presbyterianism.† For a time, every man's hand seemed against the clergy, they were insulted in the midst even of their sacred duties, and pillaged with impunity.‡ It was seriously debated to send them to New England as slaves,§ and even proposed to

The country committees.

* *Persecutio Undecima*, p. 11. On the other hand, it is complained that the clergy were rude and hasty with the Commissioners, and ignored their jurisdiction. — Neal's *Puritans*, iii., 27.

† Neal's *Puritans*, iii., 27. Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, i., 90.

‡ *Mercurius Rusticus*, sec. ii.

§ *Mercurius Aulicus*, April 30, 1643.

Chap. XXI. 1642-9.

Railing against the clergy.

sell them to work the galleys of Algiers.* Puritanical rancour, now allowed unchecked license in the pulpit, delighted to stigmatise the orthodox clergy as priests of Baal, sons of Belial, dumb dogs, unclean beasts, blind seers, idle drones, &c.† No sermon was attractive without a spice of this railing in it, and the Assembly of Divines lent their deliberate sanction to the iniquity by the slanderous letter which they addressed to the foreign churches.‡ The accusation of seeking to advance Popery was there deliberately made against the King and the bishops, and to this the King thought it necessary to make a solemn denial before receiving the Eucharist from the hands of Archbishop Usher at Oxford. It was customary in the writings of that time to use such language in speaking of the bishops as "the perfidious and rotten-hearted prelates and Arminian-pontificians, who mightily and maliciously cherishing formality, and conformity, and superstition, greedily gaped after a change in religion." §

* *Querela Cantabrigiensis*, p. 6.

† Walker, i., 48. *Persecutio Undecima*, p. 11, &c.

‡ Rushworth, iii., ii., 371. The answer of the divines of Hesse-Cassel to this epistle is remarkable: "They gave us the unseasonable and very unsavoury counsel," says Baillie, "not to meddle with the bishops."—Baillie's *Letters*, ii., 165.

§ Vicars' *Jehovah-Jireh*, p. 6. This man was, perhaps, the most atrocious railer of those railing times. He speaks of the clergy as "a rotten rabble of scandalous priests and spurious bastard sons of Belial," &c.—p. 38. The whole of his book is in this style.

Walker admits that there were some scandalous clergy, though he argues, very justly, that if they had generally been as bad as the committees represented them, they would never have suffered for conscience sake, but would have readily complied with the requirements of the Parliament.—i., 72.

As if in retaliation for the fearful sentences of the Star-Chamber and High Commission Court for slanderous words, at no period did the utmost license of evil-speaking so prevail as now. The clergy were first assailed, and as soon as the struggle was developed between the Presbyterians and Independents, each of these parties accused the other of being worse than the prelates.*

Destruction of sacred things and monuments.

Together with the grossest insults and ill usage to themselves, the clergy had also to witness the demolition of all the ancient monuments of piety which their churches or neighbourhoods could boast. The orders of Parliament for removing "monuments of superstition" began very early and were extremely numerous.† Commissioners were appointed to enforce them, and under their vigorous superintendence, unless it had been anticipated by popular fury, rich stained windows, carvings, decorations, copes, surplices, Prayer Books, and even Bibles, were ruthlessly demolished. In the heart of London stood a stately cross, built in memory of Queen Eleanor, which many generations had admired, and which had twelve times been repaired and gilded by successive sovereigns at great cost. Upon this the fury of the rabble was now poured out. "I saw," says Evelyn, "the furious and zealous people demolish

* Bastwick's *Utter Routing*, &c., *Epistle to the Reader*. Edwards' *Antapologia*, &c.

† The whole of the orders made by the Long Parliament on Church matters are computed by Walker to have exceeded one thousand.

Chap. XXI. 1642-9.

that stately cross in Cheapside."* Not content with throwing it down, they celebrated their prowess with music and shouting, and dragged the cross through the streets with a mad uproar.† Early in 1643, we are informed by the newspapers of the day, "Cromwell did most miserably deface the cathedral at Peterborough;" ‡ and the Parliamentary correspondent of *Special Passages*, writing from Canterbury, says, "The soldiers here have been a *little unfriendly* with the altars, crucifixes, tapers, singing Idæas, and pictures in the cathedral." § That which is thus mildly described by the Parliamentary writer, is thus particularised by Dr. Paske, the sub-dean: "The soldiers, entering the church and choir, overthrew the communion-table, tore the velvet cloth from before it, defaced the goodly screen or tabernacle work, violated the monuments of the dead, spoiled the organs, brake down the ancient rails and seats with the brazen eagle which did support the Bible, rent the surplices, gowns, and Bibles, mangled all our service-books and books of Common Prayer, and exercised their malice upon the arras hanging in the choir representing the whole story of our Saviour. Wherein, observing divers figures of Christ—I

* Evelyn's *Diary*, i., 55. It was pretended that people came to say their devotions at it, and that many put off their hats as they passed it. See a very curious tract called the *Downfall of Dagon; or, the Taking Down of Cheapside Cross*, &c. London, 1643.

† *Mercurius Aulicus*, May 5, 1643. Vicars' *Jehovah-Jireh*, p. 327.

‡ *Mercurius Aulicus*, April 28, 1643.

§ *Special Passages*, September 2, 1642.

tremble to express their blasphemies—one said that here is Christ, and swore that he would stab him; another said that here is Christ, and swore that he would rip up his bowels, which they did accordingly, so far as the figures were capable thereof, and many other villanies." * Of what took place at Norwich, the good Bishop Hall thus writes: "It is no other than tragical to relate the carriage of that furious sacrilege whereof our eyes and ears were the sad witnesses. Lord! what work was here, what clattering of glasses, what beating down of walls, what tearing up of monuments, what pulling down of seats, what wrestings out of iron and brass from the windows and graves.....What a hideous triumph on the market-day before all the country, when, in a kind of sacrilegeous and profane procession, all the organ-pipes, vestments, both copes and surplices, together with the leaden cross which had been newly sawn down from over the greenyard pulpit, and the service-books and singing-books that could be had, were carried to the fire in the public market-place: a lewd wretch walking before the train, in his cope trailing in the dirt, with a service-book in his hand, imitating the tune and usurping the words of the Litany used formerly in the Church." † As the war proceeded, churches and cathedrals became favourite stabling-places for troops of cavalry,‡ fonts were used as drinking-

* *Mercurius Rusticus*, p. 185.

† Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 309.

‡ This is said to have been done by Cavaliers as well as Roundheads. See a tract called *One Argument more against the Cavaliers taken from their violations of Churches.*

Chap. XXI. 1642-9.

troughs, and communion-tables treated as a shelf in a barrack-room. In a few years' time, the ancient ornaments of the Church became so scarce* that they were shown privately, where they remained, to well-affected visitors as great rarities. "Here, at York," says Evelyn, "as a great rarity in these days, and at this time, they showed me a Bible and Common Prayer Book, covered with crimson velvet and richly embossed with silver-gilt; also a service for the altar of gilt-wrought plate."† Wherever the Parliamentary forces came, both clergy and churches suffered; and, under the protection of the military, all the wild excesses of the fanatical and reckless spirits of the neighbourhood were developed.

Tumults to preserve sacred things.

Sometimes, indeed, popular fury took the opposite course, and the tumult was excited to defend the ancient and honoured monument or symbol, not to deface or destroy it. This was the case at Kidderminster, when the churchwardens endeavoured to remove the cross from the churchyard, in obedience to the order of Parliament. A violent tumult was excited, Richard Baxter, who was acting as minister of the place, was placed in considerable danger, and two of his friends were so ill treated, that they afterwards died of the injuries they received.‡

From the vast number of individual instances of

* "My Lord of Manchester made two fair bonfires of such trinkets at Cambridge."—Baillie's *Letters*, ii., 130.

† Evelyn's *Memoirs*, ii., 90.

‡ Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 40.

persecution and suffering which the diligence of Walker has brought together in his large folio volume of the *Sufferings of the Clergy*, it is hard to select particular cases of a distinctive and special character. Certainly, however, no man appears to have less deserved a place in the *Century of Scandalous Priests*, or the sufferings of a three years' imprisonment, with every variety of ill usage, than Mr. John Squire, Vicar of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch. This gentleman had laboured assiduously for thirty years in a populous parish, wherein he had above 3,000 communicants, and had particularly distinguished himself by not deserting his people in the great plague of 1625, but constantly ministering to their necessities both spiritual and temporal. He was highly valued by his flock, and so popular with them, that they gladly contributed to every good work which he recommended; but he preached the duty of allegiance to the King, and he was speedily marked out for destruction by the Parliament. The fact that all the more respectable of his parishioners signed a petition in his favour, probably only made his removal more necessary, and he was sequestered, expelled, and imprisoned by Mr. Corbet's committee. In the accusations brought against him, it was not even pretended that he had been guilty of any immorality or neglect of duty, but the frivolous charges were made that he had preached unscriptural doctrine, had reflected on the former princes of the nation, had railed in the communion table, and bought a purple velvet cloth for it. For these crimes he had

Individual instances of suffering.

Mr. John Squire.

Chap. XXI. 1642-9.

to bear for several years the treatment of the vilest malefactor.*

Dr. Daniel Featly.

In the estimation of the Puritans themselves, Dr. Daniel Featly, Rector of Lambeth, and of Acton, Middlesex, were one of the foremost divines in the country. He was nominated a member of the Assembly of Divines, and had special services entrusted to him, such as the review of St. Paul's Epistles, and the Answer to a Popish pamphlet. Yet scarce any clergyman in England was worse treated. He was plundered and abused at Acton, and in Lambeth, sequestered and thrown into prison, where after several years of suffering he died.†

Mr. Edward Simmons.

The virtues of the clergy, in fact, constituted their danger.‡ Mr. Edward Simmons, Rector of Rayne, in Essex, was plainly told by the Parliament, that "he, as an honest man, did more prejudice to the good cause in hand than a hundred knaves, and therefore should suffer accordingly."§ Mr. Simmons had preached loyalty to the King; his living accordingly was sequestered, he himself forced to fly to avoid imprisonment, and a troop of horse turned his family out of doors, and gave possession of the glebe house to Mr. Atkins.‖

Dr. Uty.

Dr. Uty, of Chigwell, appears in White's *Cen-*

* Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, i., 69; ii., 175.

† *Mercurius Rusticus*, pp. 166, 173. Walker's *Sufferings*, ii., 168. Baxter's *Autobiography*.

‡ "Mr. Selden told a person of honour, learning and honesty were sins enough in a clergyman in these days."—*Persecutio Undecima*, p. 10.

§ *Mercurius Rusticus*, p. 16. Pierce's *New Discoverer Discovered*, p. 144.

‖ *Mercurius Rusticus*, p. 20.

*tury*, as a scandalous and vicious minister, superstitious, a blasphemer, and an *enemy to the King's prerogative*, although in that laboured catalogue of clerical delinquencies, no single act to bear out the accusations can be found to allege against him.*

Clergy sequestered without hearing of an accusation.

It happened frequently that a clergyman found himself sequestered without having heard of any accusation having been preferred against him.† This was the case with the aged incumbent of Stoke Fleming and Woodleigh, in Devonshire;‡ while another clerical delinquent was punished for the crime of "daily reading most malignant chapters," and Mr. Gibson, Vicar of Horncastle, had to defend himself against the strange charge of Ormanism.§ By the ordinance of August 11, 1645, the Common Prayer was forbidden to be used even privately, under heavy penalties,‖ and soon afterwards, the committee of plundered ministers which sat in the Exchequer Chamber, was directed to send for such ministers as "have *of late*, or do now cause the Book of Common Prayer to be read, and to take care for the silencing of them."¶

Loyal clergy generally sequestered.

On some ground or other, either of doctrine or practice, the greater part of the clergy who declined to support the Parliamentary cause were harassed, oppressed, and generally sequestered during the Presbyterian ascendency, and not much remained for the Independents to do, when their turn came.

* Walker, i., 67. White's *Century*, &c., p. 2.

† Walker, i., 85. ‡ Walker, i., 78.

§ Walker, i., 83, 93. The latter charge was probably intended for Arminianism.

‖ Husband's *Collection*, p. 715. ¶ Walker, i., 74.

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During one year, in five out of the seven associated counties, one hundred and fifty-six clergy were ejected from their livings,* and frequently the causes alleged are of the most frivolous and absurd character. Those who left their cures through fear of persecution, were immediately deprived as absentees, and with regard to those who were bold enough to face the committees, it would go hard but that something sufficient to satisfy these too partial judges, could be produced against them.

Substitutes unable to be found.

So rapid were the deprivations, that it was impossible to find substitutes for the ejected ministers in sufficient quantity, and many churches had to go without pastors. It was asserted by their enemies that the dominant party did not hesitate to put tailors, cobblers, and tinkers, into the places of the deprived incumbents,† but even so the want was not supplied. Forty parishes in Cornwall were left unprovided. At the considerable town of Tavistock, there was no settled minister from 1642 to 1648,‡ and it is asserted by Principal Baillie, an unexceptionable witness in such a matter, that after all the Assembly could do in the way of ordination, *some thousands* of churches must remain vacant for want of men. §

Meantime the ejected ministers and their families were often reduced to the most abject poverty.

* Walker, i., 119.

† Judge Jenkins's *Scourge for the Directory*, p. 4. Dr. Yonge's *Life of Hugh Peters*, p. 84. "Dr. Stanton reported that a country committee had put a physician and a fellmonger into two livings sequestered."—Lightfoot's *Journal*, p. 307.

‡ Walker, i., 97. § Baillie's *Letters*, ii., 224.

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A provision had been attempted for the latter by an ordinance, which directed that a fifth part of the revenues of each Church should be paid to the family of the deprived minister, but this was often evaded or refused by the new incumbent,* and often doubtless declined by those who scrupled to become parties to a crying injustice. The case of Dr. Peterson, Dean of Exeter, and Rector of St. Breoc, in Cornwall, is a peculiarly strong one, because such was the testimony of his parishioners in his praise, that even the committee of the county was constrained to leave him undisturbed. In spite, however, of their decision in his favour, a new appointment was made by the Parliament, and the Doctor and his sick wife were ejected with great violence by a troop of horse. Mr. Innis, who had been appointed rector, managed to secure three or four years profits of the living, and then left it, but neither from him, nor after his sudden departure, from the committee of the county who received the emoluments, could the Doctor or his wife obtain anything for their support. †

Ejected ministers and their families reduced to poverty.

Dr. Peterson.

As the quarrel between the Presbyterians and Independents, the Parliament and the army, increased, the oppressed clergy conceived some hopes of relief from the general, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and, in the summer of 1647, addressed to him a petition, in which they state their sufferings with a touching pathos, "Your petitioners, a considerable

Hopes of relief from the Independents.

* Fuller's *Church Hist.*, xi., x., 35, 43. *Persecutio Undecima*, p. 36.

† Walker, i., 95. See Heber's *Life of Taylor*, p. 20.

Chap. XXI. 1642-9. Clergy's letter to Sir T. Fairfax.

number of the freeborn men of this kingdom, have been for divers years outed of their livelihood and freeholds, contrary to Magna Charta and other fundamental laws of the land, by the arbitrary power of committees, whose proceedings generally have been by no rule of any known law, but by their own wills; of whose orders no record is kept, nor scarce any notes or memorials whereby it may appear when, by whom, or for what your petitioners were removed; the committees for scandalous and for plunder'd ministers (by whom the greatest part are turned out) being grounded not so much as upon any ordinance of both Houses, the most of your petitioners outed for refusing the Covenant, or adhering to the King and the religion established according to their judgments and consciences; and, of those, divers never called to answer, scarce one had any articles proved by oath or other legal process, and some put out upon private information given to the chairman, Mr. White. By which unheard-of proceedings, not to be paralleled in any age, your petitioners, who have lived heretofore in good esteem according to their calling, degrees, birth, and education, are reduced to extreme misery and want, with their wives and children, that they must either starve or beg if some speedy course be not taken for their relief.....and forasmuch as the main profits of our benefices consist in the harvest.....your petitioners therefore humbly pray that your excellency would be pleased to make stay of the proceedings of this harvest, that such as are charged with any legal scandal

may come to a just trial, and both they (if they be found innocent) and the rest, may enjoy their rights, and have the benefit of subjects according to the known law of the land."*

No favour to be hoped for them from either party.

Whatever General Fairfax's own wishes may have been, the state of political affairs did not permit him to help the suffering clergy, and the miseries under which they groaned remained crying aloud against their persecutors. The little gleam of hope excited by the better treatment which the King experienced at the hands of the Independents, and the permission for his chaplains again to officiate before him according to the English Service book, speedily passed away. In vain did the splendid genius and genuine Christian piety of the great Jeremy Taylor put forth his immortal treatise on the *Liberty of Prophesying*,† there was no real favour to be hoped from either of the contending factions for the clergy of the Church of England. To the Presbyterian the greatest of all sins was the sin of toleration,‡ and the Independent, with the words of liberty on his lips, yet in his heart could not cease to hate a system so alien from his own.

The trial of Archbishop Laud.

But the blackest stain which marks the period of Presbyterian ascendency and Scotch influence,§ was

* Clarendon's *Rebellion*.

† Heber's *Life of Taylor*, pp. 32-3.

‡ "Nay, to such a degree of apostacy are some arrived, being waxen worse and worse, that they are labouring for an odious toleration."—*Vindication of Presbyterial Government*, published by Provincial Assembly of London, 1650, p. 103. See Baillie's *Letters, passim*, Edwards's *Gangræna*.

§ "They put to death the Archbishop of Canterbury for nothing but to please the Scotch; for the general article of going

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imprinted by the vindictive trial and atrocious sentence of the Primate. Archbishop Laud had been committed to the Tower on March 1, 1641, upon fourteen articles of impeachment exhibited against him by the Commons. Their substance was as follows: 1. That he had traitorously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws of the realm, and to persuade the King that he might levy money without the consent of Parliament. 2. That he had encouraged sermons and publications tending to the establishment of arbitrary power. 3. That he had interrupted and perverted the course of justice in Westminster Hall. 4. That he had traitorously and corruptly sold justice, and advised the King to sell judicial and other offices. 5. That he had caused a book of canons to be published without lawful authority, and had enforced subscription to it. 6. That he had assumed a Papal and tyrannical power, both in ecclesiastical and temporal matters. 7. That he had laboured to subvert God's true religion, and to introduce Popish superstition and idolatry. 8. That he had usurped the nomination to many ecclesiastical benefices, and had promoted none but persons who were popishly affected, or otherwise unsound in doctrine and corrupt in manners. 9. That he had committed the licencing of books to chaplains notoriously disaffected to the Reformed religion. 10. That he had endeavoured to reconcile the Church

about to subvert the fundamentul law of the land was no accusation, but only foul words."—Hobbes' *Behemoth*, p. 327 (Masere's *Tracts*).

of England to the Church of Rome, had held intelligence with Jesuits and the Pope, and had permitted a Popish hierarchy to be established in this kingdom. 11. That he had silenced many godly ministers; hindered the preaching of God's Word; cherished profaneness and ignorance; and caused many of the King's subjects to forsake the country. 12. That he had endeavoured to raise discord between the Church of England and other reformed Churches, and had oppressed the Dutch and French congregations in England. 13. That he had laboured to introduce innovations in religion and government into the kingdom of Scotland, and to stir up war between the two countries. 14. That to preserve himself from being questioned for these traitorous practices, he had laboured to divert the ancient course of Parliamentary proceeding, and to incense the King against all parliaments.*

Outrages on the Archbishop's papers.

No sooner was the Archbishop committed to prison, than violent hands were laid upon his property. Sixteen thousand pounds was exacted from him as compensation for Prynne, Burton and Bastwick, and twenty thousand pounds as a fine for his share in the proceedings of the Convocation. His house at Lambeth was plundered and turned into a prison, his papers and books seized, his rents sequestered, and his patronage taken away.† Not content with this, Mr. Prynne paid him a visit in his prison, seized his diary, the papers which he had prepared for his defence, the letters which he

* Laud's *History of his Troubles*, pp. 150-73.

† Heylin's *Life of Laud*, pp. 498-9.

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had received from the King, and even his book of private devotions. The persevering malice of this man had been employed ever since the Archbishop's arrest in searching for evidence to support the accusations made against him. The atrocious cruelties which Prynne had suffered, may, perhaps, in some sort, excuse his rancour, but we have Laud's solemn assertion that he had no part in inflicting the sentence,* so that his revenge was ill-directed. Not the less, however, was it steady, enduring, and laborious. "Mr. Prynne," says Laud, "was trusted with the providing of all the evidence, and was relater and prompter and all: never weary of anything so he could do me a mischief."†

The hostility of the Scotch.

Scarcely less bitter than that of Prynne, was the hostility of the Scotch nation against the Archbishop for having so outrageously offended their Presbyterian notions as to attempt to introduce the English Church system into Scotland. Their army, powerful and well appointed, had entered England before Laud was brought to his trial; and neither the taking of the Covenant, nor the promise of the adoption of the Presbyterian platform, were such a bribe to them to assist the Parliament, says Heylin, "as the assurance which was given to them of calling Canterbury, their supposed old enemy, to a present trial."‡ It was thus that, at the end of four years' imprisonment, when his power to injure any had long since ceased, when, amidst the exciting

* Laud's *History of his Troubles*, p. 144. † *Ibid.*, p. 216.
‡ Heylin's *Laud*, p. 509.

scenes of the war, the nation had almost forgotten his existence, the aged Archbishop was at last brought to his trial before the House of Lords.

Additional articles against Laud.

Ten additional articles had been exhibited against him. These were—(1.) That he had caused the dissolution of the Parliaments held in the third and fourth years of the King. (2.) That he had laboured to advance the authority of the Church and the prerogative of the King above the law. (3.) That he had procured a stop to his Majesty's writs of prohibition. (4.) That he had caused execution of judgment to be stayed in favour of a clergyman, charged with non-residence. (5.) That he had imprisoned Sir John Corbet for causing the petition of right to be read at the Quarter Sessions. (6.) That he had suppressed the corporation of feoffees for buying impropriations. (7.) That he had harboured several Popish priests. (8.) That he had averred that the Church could never be brought to conformity without a severer blow than had yet been struck. (9.) That he had introduced an unlawful oath into the canons. (10.) That he had recommended extraordinary ways of supply if the Parliament should prove peevish.*

His trial.

Upon these various and minute charges, which had been carefully raked together for years, the Archbishop was at last brought to his trial, on March 12, 1644. Sergeant Wilde opened the case against him, and he was supported in his task by Messrs. Browne, Maynard, Nicolas, and Hill. The Archbishop was allowed the assistance of counsel—

* Le Bas's *Life of Laud*, p. 304.

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one of whom was the famous Sir Matthew Hale—but he principally conducted his defence himself, and that with so much vigour, tact, and eloquence, that he has extorted a tribute of admiration even from his enemy Prynne.* On each day of his hearing, the charges against him usually lasted till about two o'clock, then he was allowed till four to prepare his defence; about four, the House sat again, and the defence was heard, but if he called any witnesses, they were not allowed to be sworn; then one of the committee replied to the defence, and the case was adjourned for the day. After this the aged prelate was conveyed back to the Tower, weary and exhausted with his protracted labour.† Everybody, indeed, must have seen that the whole thing was a farce, intended, however, to be the preface to a sanguinary conclusion. The Lords, who were to be the judges, could scarcely be got to attend to the proceedings; not one peer, with the exception of Lord Gray, the Speaker, having been present on every day of the trial.‡ Sergeant Wilde used bluster instead of argument, and endeavoured to establish the absurd position that though no one act of the Archbishop's amounted to treason, yet that all together his malversations amounted to it; an argument which was best met by the witty rejoinder of Mr. Hearne: "I cry your mercy, Mr. Sergeant; I never underderstood before this time, that two hundred

* See *Canterbury's Doom*, p. 465.
† *Troubles*, p. 218. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

couple of black rabbits would make one black horse." * Chap. XXI. 1642-9.

The trial began on March 12, and lasted till the end of July. The hearing was upon twenty days; and on twelve days, the Archbishop, though brought to the house, was not heard, but put off for more urgent business.† At the beginning of September, he was admitted to make a recapitulation of his defence before the Lords, at which time he perceived that each of his judges had in his hands a thin blue folio volume. This proved to be his own Diary, which had been published by Prynne; but to the eternal disgrace of that unscrupulous enemy, in a garbled and mutilated form, and with notes appended to it to endeavour to prejudice the Archbishop.‡

Bill of Attainder.

Laud's counsel had so completely demolished the charge of high treason, that it was seen that it was vain to hope for his conviction on that ground by the House of Lords. Resort must, therefore, again be had, as in the case of Lord Strafford, to the iniquitous subterfuge of a bill of attainder. Even at this time, as if in open contempt of the semblance of justice, it was endeavoured to pass such an ordinance through the Commons, though that House had heard none of the evidence; but this was too glaring an abuse for the majority to sanction. In order, therefore, to give some show of decency to their proceedings, the Archbishop was summoned to defend himself before the House of Commons. This he did on Monday, November

Defends himself before the Commons.

* Le Bas's *Life of Laud*, p. 314, note.

† *Troubles*, p. 412. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 412.

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11; and that with such power, that even those who were most bitterly opposed to him could not withhold their admiration.* "Mr. Speaker," said the prelate, now in his 72nd year, "I am very aged, considering the turmoils of my life, and I daily find in myself more decays than I can make show of, and the period of my life, in the course of nature, cannot be far off. It cannot but be a great grief unto me to stand, at these years, thus charged before you. Yet give me leave to say thus much without offence. Whatsoever errors or faults I may have committed, by the way, in any of my proceedings, through human infirmity—as who is he that hath not offended, and broken some statute laws, too, by ignorance, or misapprehension, or forgetfulness at some sudden time of action?—yet if God bless me with so much memory, I will die with these words in my mouth, 'That I never intended, much less endeavoured, the subversion of the laws of the kingdom, nor the bringing in of Popish superstition upon the true Protestant religion established by law in this kingdom.'"†

His sentence.

Useless, however, were such appeals as this, and powerless to avert the doom which had long ago been determined against the aged prelate. Political needs, no less than the cravings of inveterate malignity, required his destruction, and on Wednesday, November 13, the bill of attainder passed the Commons.‡ For two months longer, the Lords hesitated, while intimidation was freely used by the Lower House towards the small handful of peers

* *Troubles*, pp. 433, 441. † *Ibid.*, p. 439. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 441.

which still sat as the Upper. At length, on January 4, 1645, they yielded, and six peers pronounced their agreement with the ordinance of the Commons.* When the Archbishop was informed of this vote, he heard it "with so even and smooth a temper, as showed he was neither ashamed to live, nor afraid to die."† Within a week he was to suffer, and the malice of the House of Commons was with difficulty brought to remit any of the fearful penalties belonging to the death for high treason, and actually refused to allow him the attendance of a chaplain without the disagreeable appendage of two of the Presbyterian Assembly of Divines.‡ Chap. XXI. 1642-9.

On the morning of January 10, he was conducted to the scaffold on Tower Hill, amidst some revilings from the mob, and with wonderful composure proceeded to read from a manuscript which he carried in his hand a speech or sermon of touching pathos. He had come, he said, to the brink of the Red Sea, but before he entered the land of promise, the passover must be eaten, and that with sour herbs. He would remember that it was the Lord's Passover, and that men could have no power over him except it were given them from above. "And I pray God," said the dying bishop, "bless all this people and open their eyes, that they may see the right way. For myself, I ac- Last speech.

* Heylin's *Laud*, p. 528. The peers were Earls of Kent, Pembroke, Salisbury and Bolingbroke, Lords North, and Gray of Wark.

† Heylin's *Laud*, p. 529. ‡ Rushworth, iii., ii., 834.

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knowledge myself a grievous sinner, but I have not found any of my sins that are deserving of death by any known law of this kingdom, yet thereby I charge nothing upon my judges, and I thank God I am as quiet within as I ever was in my life. I hope my cause in heaven will look of another dye than the colour that is put upon it here on earth. For the king, my gracious sovereign, he hath been much traduced by some for labouring to bring in Popery, but upon my conscience I know him to be as free from this charge as any man living, and to be as sound a Protestant as any man in this kingdom. For this poor Church of England, that hath flourished and been a shelter to other neighbouring churches, when storms have driven upon them, now, alas, it is in a storm itself, and God knows whether or how it shall get out; and which is worse than a storm from without, it is become like an oak cleft to shivers with wedges made of its own body." For himself he protested in the presence of Almighty God and the holy angels, that he had never endeavoured the subversion of the laws, or of the Protestant religion, and he ended by desiring the people to join with him in a prayer which he read.

Execution.

At the conclusion of this prayer, he gave his MS. to Dr. Stern, his chaplain, and after another short prayer, he gave the signal to the executioner, and his head was at one blow struck off. His body was decently interred by his friends in Allhallow's Church, Barking, and the solemn office of the

Liturgy he had so much loved, was read over his grave.*

On the *same day* that the Lords passed the ordinance of attainder against the Archbishop of Canterbury, they likewise passed the ordinance for the abolishing the Book of Common Prayer, and the establishing of the Directory.† It must have seemed a black day to the lovers of the Church of England, but that old man's blood cried to heaven for vengeance, and in the proscription of rebuke and disgrace English Christians learnt to value the religion which supported them.‡ Enough has been said in the course of this history, as to the character of Archbishop Laud, to render any examination of it here superfluous.§ That he was rash, inconsiderate, choleric, and narrow-minded, few will be disposed to deny, but that he possessed a burning zeal and a true devotion to the Church of England is equally clear. Private ends and personal corruption he was free from, and to put him to death after four years imprisonment, because when in power he had zealously laboured to uphold his views of right, is perhaps the grossest act of malicious tyranny which disgraces our annals.‖

Prostrate state of the Church of England.

With its Primate done to death, its other bishops either in prison or flight, thousands of its

* Rushworth, iii., ii., 835, 839. † Rushworth, u. s.

‡ See Evelyn's *Diary*, ii., 116.

§ See Fuller's *Church Hist.*, xi., ix., 71, 85.

‖ "The most unjustifiable act of these zealots," says one who regarded the Archbishop with a strong feeling of hostility.—Hallam's *Const. Hist.*, i., 577.

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clergy* deprived of their benefices, its churches defaced, and its Liturgy proscribed, the Church of England now lay bleeding at every pore. Its temporal defenders had failed to shield it from harm in spite of their zeal for its interests. After the battle of Marston Moor, the King's cause was evidently doomed,† and the issue of the war only a question of time. Yet the King himself had no idea of abandoning the interests of the Church, or consenting to make political capital by adopting the doctrines of the Assembly of Divines. Vacillating as he unhappily was on state matters, and even able to allow himself to make promises which he never intended to perform, he was, in the main, firm to his convictions on matters of religion. It is true he had abolished Episcopacy in Scotland, and consented to the bill which took away the bishops' votes in Parliament; but in neither of these cases did he consider fundamental principles to be involved. To the Church of England as he had found it on his accession, and as he had sworn to defend it, he was faithful throughout. "I am firm," says he, "to primitive Episcopacy, not to have it extirpated, if I can hinder it. Nor was it any policy of state, or obstinacy of will, or partiality of affection either to the men or their function which fixed me; who cannot in worldly

The King's fidelity to it.

* "It was the boast of Mr. John White, that he and his had ejected 8,000 Churchmen in four or five years."—Pierce's *New Discoverer Discovered*, p. 140.

† "That fatal blow, which so much changed the King's condition, which till then was very hopeful."—Clarendon's *Rebellion*, p. 494.

respects be so considerable to me, as to recompense the injuries and losses I and my dearest relations with my kingdoms, have sustained and hazarded chiefly at first upon this quarrel."* It is thus that however grave may be the faults which the state historian may find in the administration and policy of Charles I., the historian of the Church of England must regard him at least, in his latter years, with affectionate sympathy. Chap. XXI. 1642-9.

Within a few weeks of the death of Archbishop Laud, met the Commissioners to treat of a pacification at Uxbridge. This was, perhaps, the most critical period of the King's fortunes, yet he showed no disposition to help himself at the expense of the Church. There is but little doubt that if he had consented to Presbyterianism at this moment, he might have detached the Scotch from the Parliamentary interest and enlisted them on his side,† but he refused to do so. Mr. Alexander Henderson, on the part of the Parliament, contended that the question was not now whether Episcopacy were lawful, but whether it were so necessary that religion could not be preserved without it, and exhorted the King's Commissioners to change the government of the Church for the preservation of Negotiations at Uxbridge.

* *Eikon Basiliké*, chap. xvii. The Eikon is quoted as the King's words, upon the ground (which seems pretty sure) that he had, if not composed it, at any rate often read and approved the MS.

† "He (the Chancellor of Scotland) did as good as conclude that if the King would satisfy them in the business of the Church, they would not concern themselves in any of the other demands." —Clarendon's *Rebellion*, p. 522.

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the State; but the King's chaplains asserted in reply "that without bishops there could be no ordination of ministers, and, consequently, no administration of sacraments or performance of the ministerial functions." * After four days' argument, the Chancellor of the Exchequer declared on the part of the King, that "it seemed very admirable to him that their lordships could expect or imagine it possible that they should depart from a faith and a form of worship in which they had been educated from their cradle, and which they looked upon with all possible approbation and reverence, upon only hearing it inveighed against four days." † Though some slight concessions were offered on the King's side,‡ yet the final answer of his Commissioners was that they were "far from satisfied that the government by archbishops, bishops, &c., was unlawful and ought to be taken away." § Thus the Presbyterian interest was rather exasperated than conciliated.

At Newcastle.

Neither was there any essential difference when the King, after his surrender to the Scotch army, was actually in their power. At Newcastle, he disputed, without the assistance of any of his

* Clarendon's *Rebellion*, p. 524. Dr. Stewart was the leading man among these, of whom Dr. Pierce says "that he was one of the highest strain, and as near the Archbishop as it was possible to imagine."—*New Discoverer Discovered*, p. 257.

† *Ibid.*, 525. See Sir P. Warwick's *Memoirs*, 282-3.

‡ Freedom in matters of ceremony. Bishops to consult Presbyters in matters of jurisdiction, to reside and preach. Poor vicarages to be increased, pluralities done away. £100,000 to be borrowed on Church lands.—*Basilica*, p. 449.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 456.

chaplains, with Mr. Henderson, the most famous champion of the Scotch discipline, arguing learnedly from Scripture and primitive antiquity in favour of Episcopacy; and was supposed by some of his admirers to have so overwhelmed the Scotch divine, that he soon after died of shame and grief.* The sorest pressure, perhaps, which Charles ever experienced, was at this time, when the Duke of Hamilton, and some other of his Scotch friends, conjured him on their knees, and with tears, to accept the proposals of the Parliament, to allow the Covenant and Presbyterianism, and to sacrifice Episcopacy; and the Queen, Colepepper, Jermyn, and Ashburnham, wrote pressingly to the same effect. But even to their most urgent entreaties, he would grant no more than that Episcopacy and Presbyterianism should be established side by side, that full liberty of conscience should be reserved to himself and his friends, and that some six dioceses of England should retain the ancient form of Church government to serve as asylums for all who valued it.† Chap. XXI. 1642-9.

The face of affairs changed. The art and resolution of Cromwell gained for the Independents the upper hand, and the army dictated to the Parliament. The King, seized at Holmby House, and in the power of men who, if not so bigoted, were still more unscrupulous than their opponents, was in his theological views still the same. The terms the Independents offered him were much more With the Independents.

* Heylin's *Presbyterians*, p. 477.
† Rushworth, iv., i., 328. Hallam's *Const. Hist.*, i., 596.

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favourable than the Presbyterian requirements. He was not called upon to abandon the Episcopal Church, but only to give up its civil *status* and to allow a complete toleration, but even this he refused.* For a short time it suited both sides to court him, and a gleam of hope cheered the hearts of his followers that, by the aid of the Independents, he might be allowed to triumph over the Presbyterians,† but it was soon clear that his destruction had been determined upon. The fanatics and republicans became furious at the negotiations of their leaders with the royalists; Cromwell and Ireton discovered (as is said) a private letter from Charles to the Queen, avowing that whatever he promised, he had no real intention to perform;‡ and this unhappy duplicity made them the more willing to consent to the demands of the fierce enthusiasts who shouted for the blood of "the greatest delinquent"§ in the kingdom.

But now a gleam of hope came from the other side. The Scotch and the Presbyterian party in

* The King consulted his chief divines as to the point of toleration being permissible. They returned for answer that in "case of exigence of Church and State, a Christian prince hath a latitude allowed him, the bounding whereof is by God left to him." This is signed by the Bishops of Salisbury, Worcester, Exeter, London, Bath and Wells, Armagh, Rochester; Drs. Sheldon, Sanderson, Holdsworth, Hammond, Jeremy Taylor. —*Tanner MSS.*, 58, 453. The original signatures may be here seen.

† Guizot's *English Revolution*, p. 335, sq. (Translation.)

‡ Guizot, p. 354. Hallam's *Const. Hist.*, i., 621, note.

§ "A delinquent! What is that? A sinner is it not? By delinquent they meant only a man to whom they would do all the hurt they could."—Hobbes' *Behemoth*.

Parliament were bitterly exasperated against the Independents. The King, imprisoned in Carisbrook Castle, excited sympathy throughout the country. There were general risings in his favour. The Scotch army entered England, and, on the part of the Parliament, fresh negotiations were opened with the King in the Isle of Wight. In the political concessions made by Charles, there may have been the same wretched duplicity which, by some strange sophistry, he was able to reconcile to his conscience,* but on religious matters, he firmly held to those opinions which he had so long cherished, and which he appears not to have considered himself justified in treating with the same freedom as the others. His answer to one who would persuade him to make religious concessions, in order to save his life, which he might afterwards withdraw as extorted from him, was—"I have done what I could to bring my conscience to a compliance with their proposals, and cannot, and I will not lose my conscience to save my life."† If he had treated all

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At Newport.

* He wrote to Ormond, "Don't trouble yourself about my concessions to Ireland, they will not lead to anything"; and to Sir William Hopkins: "To tell you the truth, my great concession this morning was made only with a view to facilitate my approaching escape; without that hope I should never have yielded in this manner. If I had refused, I could, without much sorrow, have returned to my prison; but as it is, I own it would break my heart, for I have done that which my escape alone can justify."—Guizot, p. 396. Hallam's *Const Hist.*, i., 626, note.

† Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 426. Thus he wrote to Secretary Nicholas, in 1645: "I resolve, by the grace of God, never to yield up this Church to the government of Papists, Presbyterians, or Independents, nor to injure my successors by lessening the crown of its power," &c.—Evelyn's *Memoirs*, v., 143.

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affairs in this spirit, how differently would posterity have judged of him!

His chaplains given back to him.

While the King had been at Holmby House, and in the power of the Presbyterians, by a petty and bigoted malignity the attendance of his chaplains had been denied him, but no sooner was he in the hands of the Independents and the army, than Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sheldon were suffered to be with him. At Holmby Mr. Marshall and Mr. Caryll had attended on him from the Assembly of divines, but though the King conversed with them in a friendly way, he would never allow them even to say grace before him, because they refused to minister according to the Liturgy.* His chaplains had been again forced to leave him about Christmas, 1647,† but at the time of the treaty he was allowed to be assisted by Bishops Juxon and Duppa, and Archbishop Usher, Drs. Henchman, Holdsworth, Morley, and Sanderson.‡ With this last divine, who was famous for his treatment of cases of conscience, the King had had much discourse on the subject of oaths and scruples of conscience, and in one of his interviews had told him that if he

* Sir P. Warwick's *Memoirs*, pp. 296, 298, 301. Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 334, 425. Sir T. Herbert's *Memoirs*, p. 11.

† Fell's *Life of Hammond*. Sir T. Herbert, p. 66. "Drs. Sheldon and Hammond came to the King at Royston—continued their attendance in Isle of Wight till Commissioners of the Houses had given their faith that nothing should be done to his prejudice."—*MS. Life of Hammond*, in C. C. Coll., Oxford.

‡ Warwick, p. 321. Sir T. Herbert mentions also Hammond and Sheldon, but they were at this time in prison at Oxford.—See Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 336, *MS. Life of Hammond*, u. s.

ever lived to be free again, he meant to do public penance for what he considered to be the two great errors of his life, his desertion of Lord Strafford, and his abolishing Episcopacy in Scotland.* At Newport the whole of the discussion on the side of the King was conducted by himself, who held his own very creditably against the Assembly divines, contending for the fundamental difference between the offices of bishop and presbyter from Scripture and the primitive fathers.† Upon the matter of religion he so far yielded as to allow the proceedings of the Westminster Assembly, and the establishment of Presbyterianism for the space of three years, but he altogether refused to accept the Covenant, or to sanction the bill for taking away Episcopacy and confiscating the Bishops' lands.‡

Concessions made by the King.

The concessions now offered by the King did not materially differ from those which he had agreed to before, but the fears of the Presbyterian party led them to propose in Parliament that they were sufficient to treat upon, and this proposition, after a desperate attempt of the Independents to intimidate the House, was carried by a majority.§ The debate was adjourned several times; in the last session the House sat for four-and-twenty hours consecutively, and at length resolved, by 140 against 104, that the King's reply was an adequate basis of peace.

This vote determined the Independents and the

* Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 426.
† Sir T. Herbert, p. 72. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 74.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 76. Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 353.

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The army seizes the King and coerces the Parliament.

army to throw off all disguise. They had already laid violent hands on the King, and carried him away from Newport to Hurst Castle, and now they resolved to apply the same rough and coercive treatment to the Parliament. Colonel Pride and his soldiers surrounding the Houses of Parliament, seized all the members who were specially obnoxious to the army, and confined them in houses.* The remainder of the Presbyterian party were intimidated, and quitted the Parliament, while Cromwell had the astounding assurance to declare publicly that he had had no part in the matter, but as it was done he was glad of it.† With the same hideous hypocrisy he continued to asseverate, when the House voted that the King should be brought to trial for having levied war against the Parliament, "that if any man moved this upon design, he should think him the greatest traitor in the world, but since Providence and necessity had cast them upon it, he should pray God to bless their counsels."‡

The King sentenced to death.

After the atrocious farce of the infamous mock-trial§ had been concluded, and the King had re-

* Whitelocke, pp. 354-5. † Ludlow's *Memoirs*, i., 273.

‡ Walker's *Hist. of Independency*, ii., 54.

§ "I cannot perceive," says the calm and judicial Hallam, "what there was in the imagined solemnity of this proceeding, in that insolent mockery of the forms of justice, accompanied by all unfairness and inhumanity in its circumstances, which can alleviate the guilt of the transaction; and if it be alleged that many of the regicides were firmly persuaded in their consciences of the right and duty of condemning the King, we may surely remember that private murderers have often had the same apology." —*Const. Hist.*, i., 637.

ceived his sentence, his character shines out in a brighter light than at any period of his long adversity; and the faith of the Church of England, to which he clung as his dearest treasure to the last, receives the most splendid illustration. "Nothing," says Sir Thomas Herbert, his faithful attendant throughout, "of the fear of death, or indignities offered, seemed a terror, or provoked him to impatience, nor uttered he a reproachful word reflecting on any of his judges, or against any member of the House, or officer of the army, so wonderful was his patience."* Bidding farewell to the world, his whole business was now a serious preparation for death. He spent the time in prayer and religious exercises, and in conference with Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London. The Church which he had loved and defended gave him one of the choicest and most worthy of her ministers to be a support to him in his hour of trial. Both the Presbyterian and Independent divines offered their services, but though the King desired they would pray for him, he chose to have no other spiritual adviser with him besides the prelate whom he had long known and valued.† "The Bishop," says Sir Philip Warwick, "himself told me the manner of his reception. As soon as he came in, the King very openfacedly and cheerfully received him: the Bishop began to make some condolement. 'Leave off this' (says he), 'my lord, we have not time for it; let us think of our great work, and prepare to meet

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His pious preparation.

Bishop Juxon

* Sir T. Herbert's *Memoirs*, p. 117.
† *Ibid.*, p. 119. Warwick, p. 343.

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that great God to whom, ere long, I am to give an account of myself; and I hope I shall do it with peace, and that you will assist me therein. We will not talk of these rogues in whose hands I am. They thirst after my blood, and they will have it, and God's will be done. I thank God I heartily forgive them, and I will talk of them no more.' And so for two or three hours the Bishop and he conferred together."* On the following day the King and the Bishop passed many hours together in devotion, and the Bishop read the service of the Church, preached on Romans, ii., 16, and administered the Holy Communion.

The King's last bequests.

That night the King continued reading and praying for two hours after the Bishop had gone to his lodging, and at four o'clock in the morning he rose, and was quickly joined by his spiritual adviser. To his faithful attendant Mr. Herbert, he gave his Bible, with notes and quotations in the margin, written by his own hand, with a direction that he should convey it to his eldest son. At the same time he sent his son a charge that he was to be "dutiful and indulgent to the Queen his mother, affectionate to his brothers and sisters, to exceed in mercy, not in rigour; and as to Episcopacy, it was still the King's opinion that it was of Apostolical institution, and in this kingdom exercised from the primitive times, and therein as in all other affairs, prayed God to vouchsafe him both in reference to Church and State, a discerning spirit, and that it was his last and earnest request, that he would

* Warwick, p. 340.

frequently read the Bible, which in all the time of his affliction had been his best instructor and delight, and to meditate upon what he read."* To the Princess Elizabeth he left Bishop Andrewes' *Sermons*, Archbishop Laud's *Book against Fisher*, and Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*. To the Duke of Gloucester he sent King James's *Works*, and Dr. Hammond's *Practical Catechism*. The King then bade his attendant to withdraw, and remained about an hour in private with the Bishop. Mr. Herbert was then readmitted, and the Bishop read the service of the Church, in which the twenty-seventh chapter of St. Matthew was the second lesson. The King was much struck, and asked the Bishop after the service was over, whether he had selected the chapter on purpose. When told that it was the ordinary lesson of the day, he put off his hat, and said, "I bless God that it has thus fallen out."†

After he had passed some more time in prayer and meditation, he was summoned to go to Whitehall, passing through an avenue of soldiers all across St. James's Park, and accompanied still by Bishop Juxon. Mr. Herbert could not muster resolution to attend him to the scaffold, but the Bishop firmly witnessed the concluding scene, when with extraordinary coolness and resolution, the persecuted King went through his last trial, and by one stroke was released from all his troubles.‡

His execution.

* Herbert, pp. 129-30.
† Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 345. Herbert's *Memoirs*, p. 131.
‡ Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 344.

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The people were excited almost to frenzy by the sight of the execution, but the stern fanatical army repressed an outbreak.

Funeral.

It only remained now for his devoted attendants to provide for his funeral. The committee of Parliament gave permission for him to be buried at Windsor, and the body was accordingly conveyed thither in a hearse, followed by about a dozen gentlemen who had waited on him. Bishop Juxon desired to read the funeral service of the Church, but the Governor of Windsor would not permit it, and thus without service or ceremony the body of the murdered King was laid to rest in St. George's Chapel, with this simple inscription on the coffin—*King Charles*, 1648.*

Service for January 30.

So tragical a fate, so Christian a preparation, and so genuine a devotion to the Church, may serve to excuse the Church of the Restoration for the service of January 30, now happily removed from our Prayer Book. English Churchmen no longer pledged to an absolute and almost blasphemous laudation of King Charles, will yet not be slow to give to his memory the just meed of respect which his many noble and Christian qualities deserve.

Presbyterians coerced by the Independents.

And now the Presbyterians who had inaugurated the movement against Church and King, were made to feel the strength of the spirit which they had evoked, and were writhing under the scornful tyranny of the Independents. The ministers of London presented a petition to Fairfax, boldly

* Herbert's *Memoirs*, p. 136, 143. 1648 for 1649.

protesting against the iniquity of taking away the King's life, but Fairfax who himself was far from desiring this, was powerless to help them.* When the act was done they denounced it, and the usurped authority of the Rump Parliament (as the small junto of members which remained were called) as did the House of Lords, the secluded members of the House of Commons, and, in effect, the whole nation. But their voice was now powerless. Cromwell, Ireton, and Hugh Peters went to the London ministers, forbidding them with menaces to speak anything against the doings of the army and Parliament, and threatening to shut up their churches.† Hugh Peters can perhaps be hardly said with fairness to represent the type of ministers who were now in the ascendant, to the infinite disgust and scandal of the more sober and respectable Presbyterians. This extraordinary man had begun life as a stage player, but had afterwards managed to procure orders. Adopting Anabaptist opinions, he illustrated the Antinomianism freely imputed to these fanatics by a disgraceful intrigue, which obliged him to fly into Holland. His conduct there was one series of scandals, but the outbreak of fanaticism in England furnished him with a fitting field for his peculiar abilities; he returned, and speedily rose into notice.‡ Endowed with an unblushing audacity, great readiness of speech, and much natural humour, he soon took a foremost

* Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 60, 61.
† C. Walker's *Hist. Independency*, ii., 67.
‡ Dr. Yonge's *Life of Hugh Peters*.

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place among the sectarian divines, and lent himself with the greatest zest to the browbeating and humiliation of the staid Presbyterians. Coercion, insult, and persecution we may assume to have been no more palatable to them than to the most loyal of the clergy, and while these latter must have had a powerful source of support in the consciousness of consistency, and the absence of self-reproach, the Presbyterians could not but feel that the men who were now trampling upon them, had been helped into power by their means, and that the audacious fanaticism which now shocked them, had been firmly repressed by the Church which they had overthrown.*

The Oxford Visitation.

The University of Oxford, which had so long loyally sheltered and aided its sovereign, which had been the head-quarters of his army, the seat of his Parliament and Court, was at length made to receive a full share in the sufferings of its master. Some years before, Cambridge had experienced the tender mercies of a Presbyterian purgation under the Earl of Manchester and his two chaplains, in addition to the succession of persecutions which had fallen upon it from the very beginning of the war, from being made the head-quarters of the seven associated counties.† Oxford might appear highly favoured

* "In eighty years there did not arise among us so many horrid opinions and blasphemous heresies *under Episcopacy*, as have arisen in these few years."—Crawford's *Hereseomachia*.

† Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, i., 109. The persecutions of Cambridge are fully stated in a tract called *Querela Cantabrigiensis*, drawn up by Dr. Bruno Ryves, the author of *Mercurius Rusticus*. He thus describes some of the troubles of the unfortunate scholars: "Divers of us have been imprisoned without so

in comparison, but its turn was soon to come. During the King's occupation of it, but little of its ancient condition as a University had been preserved. The schools were converted into magazines; the colleges, denuded of their plate and valuables, had served as lodgings for the King's officers; the students worked at the trenches, or received commissions in the army—many of them were reduced to extreme poverty and begged their bread in the streets.* Meantime, large numbers of loyal divines had been driven to the King's quarters for shelter, and, in the difficulty of finding rewards to compensate their sufferings, the King had disposed of university degrees so lavishly, that the governing body was obliged to remonstrate. In June, 1646, Oxford was surrendered to the Parliament, with a provision which it was hoped would, in some measure, protect the privileges of the University; but in the September following, seven divines were sent down whose mission it was to

much as pretending any cause, but snatched up in the streets and thrown into prison at the pleasure of a small sneaking captain, where we have lain three or four months together, not so much as accused, much less heard. Many of us have been thrust out of bed at night, that our chambers might forthwith be converted into prison lodgings; our young scholars, with terror, have been commanded to accuse their tutors; our colleges beset and broken open, and guards thrust into them while we were asleep.....Our libraries and treasuries ransacked and rifled, not sparing so much as our ancient coins. Our rents have been extorted from our tenants, or, if received, remanded of our bursars and stewards." —p. 12. Soldiers were trained and drilled in King's College Chapel. In Queen's College neither fellow nor scholar was left. —Pp. 17, 22.

* Wood's *Athenæ*.

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prepare the University for the visitation which was to follow. The ordinance decreeing this visitation was passed May 1, 1647, and immediately all the resident body were cited to the Convocation House to undergo the scrutiny of the visitors.*

The protest against the Covenant.

It was at this juncture that Oxford distinguished itself by an act which must ever be counted among the brightest in the long annals of its illustrious history. Far from being intimidated by the madness of the times, the ruin of its sovereign, the examples of confiscation and imprisonment which were rife throughout the country, the University met and calmly agreed, with only one dissenting voice, to a document which embodies, in most forcible argument and temperate language, the objections which would prevent loyal and conscientious men from taking the Covenant and the Negative Oath. This paper, which reflects immortal honour on the name of Sanderson, its principal framer,† was at once published under the title of *The present judgment of the University of Oxford concerning the solemn League and Covenant, the Negative Oath*, &c.‡ It is a production which, for spirit and power, can scarcely be surpassed. To force the taking of a covenant (contends the University) which is in the nature of a contract, and, therefore, needs to be voluntary, is in itself an absurdity, and

* Wood's *Athenæ*.

† It appears that twenty delegates were chosen by the University to prepare this document, of whom Dr. Hammond was one. The composition was intrusted to Dr. Sanderson—*MS. Life of Hammond*, C. C. Coll., Oxford.

‡ Wood's *Athenæ*.

clearly opposed also to the liberties of the subject and the Petition of Right. But if this engagement be not forced, but only recommended, it does not appear that it can be fitly taken, because not having the King's sanction, the taking it would not become subjects; because, it being to uphold the Scotch religion, of which but little is known to us, and that not in any way better than the religion of the Church of England, but rather the contrary, it is against our convictions; and because having already taken oaths contrary to it, we could not take it without perjury. We cannot, says the University, undertake to endeavour the extirpation of Episcopacy for these four reasons: (1.) We are persuaded that Episcopacy, if not *juris divini*, is at least of Apostolical institution. (2.) We ourselves are pledged to it by our subscriptions and oaths. (3.) To overthrow it would destroy the legal *status* of the Church of England. (4.) It would be inconsistent with our duty to the King as declared in the Oath of Supremacy. The remaining articles are taken one by one, and met with such force of argument and clear, though temperate, refutation, that it is shown to demonstration that no conscientious member of the Church of England could accept them. In the same way, the Negative Oath is shown to be subversive of the liberty of the subject, and a direct breach of the duty which is owed to the King. "This," says Collier, "considering the times, was a bold piece of honesty, a noble defence of the Church and Constitution." *

* Collier's *Church History*, viii., 333.

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The contemptuous treatment of the visitors.

However, in proportion as the defence was telling and unanswerable, it was likely to provoke the anger rather than arrest the attacks of the visitors. The University, indeed, behaved towards them with a contemptuous resistance which must have been peculiarly galling, and to meet which they had to obtain fresh and more extensive powers from the Parliament.* The proctors having formally denied the right of the Parliament to visit, a right which, they said, was vested exclusively in the King, it was ordered that the matter should be pleaded by counsel before Parliament. It was, of course, decided against the University, but three months had been gained, and they desired to retard as much as possible the proceedings of the visitors.

Their work retarded.

It is strange, indeed, how long they were able to retard them. Lord Pembroke, who had been reinstated in his office of Chancellor, of which the University had deprived him, went down to assist the visitors, and the ground of examination was now changed from the Covenant and the Negative Oath to the submission to, or refusal of, the visitorial authority. Yet, with all this, the work proceeded very slowly. It was the middle of 1648, before they had ejected even the openly contumacious members of foundations, who amounted in all to about 600, including ten professors and all the heads of colleges except two.†

* Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii., 128-9.

† Wood's *Athenæ*. Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii., 136.

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Dr. Hammond had been chosen sub-dean of Christ Church to supply the place of the dean, Dr. Fell, who, as Vice-Chancellor, had been the first object of the visitors' attacks. Scarce, however, had this learned and pious divine returned from his attendance upon the King, in the Isle of Wight, before he experienced their rancour also. He was confined with Dr. Sheldon as a prisoner in Oxford, and deprived of his preferment. Yet such was the respect for his character and virtue, that the person appointed to succeed him in his canonry refused to dispossess him; and Colonel Evelyn, to whom he had been consigned as prisoner, declared that he would only treat him as a friend.*

Dr. Hammond.

Dr. Sanderson, Regius Professor of Divinity in the University, for some time disarmed his enemies by the intrepid dignity of his character. As the writer of the famous *Judgment*, he might be supposed to be especially obnoxious to the visitors, yet he was long allowed to remain. "He did still continue to read his lecture; and did, to the very faces of those Presbyterian divines and soldiers, read with so much reason, and with a calm fortitude make such applications as, if they were not, they ought to have been ashamed and begged pardon of God and him, and forborne to do what followed."* About June, 1648, however, he was removed, but allowed to retire to his parsonage at Boothby Pagnell. Here he enjoyed comparative quiet, and was

Dr. Sanderson.

* Fell's *Life of Hammond*. Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 336. *MS. Life of Hammond*, C. C. Coll., Oxford.

† Walton's *Sanderson*, Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 427.

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able, for a short time, to entertain his friend, Dr. Hammond, disputing with him amicably on the deep points of Predestination and Election, and being gradually converted from his own Calvinistic bias to Hammond's more catholic views.*

Archbishop Usher.

The learned primate of Ireland had remained with the King at Oxford until that city was threatened with a siege. The King always greatly delighted in his Scriptural and temperate doctrine, and he often preached before him. When Oxford became unsafe, Usher retired into South Wales, and, among the rude natives of Glamorganshire, suffered the irreparable loss of many of his books and papers. He was present at the Newport treaty, and then laid before the King his scheme of moderated Episcopacy, which Charles would have been ready to embrace had it then satisfied the Presbyterian party.† After the negotiations had ended, he went to London, where, as preacher at Lincoln's Inn, he continued to reside. The death of the King was almost an overwhelming blow to him; yet such was the constancy and intensity of his studies, that during the period of the troubles several of his most learned works on chronology and divinity saw the light.

Not less amazed and crushed by the ruthless

* See Walton's *Sanderson* in Wordsworth and Notes. A large number of notices of Dr. Sanderson and his intercourse with Dr. Hammond, which do not appear to have been examined either by Dr. Wordsworth or the late learned editor of Sanderson's Works, are to be found in the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum.

† Elrington's *Life of Usher*, p. 255.

murder of the King, was a prelate of a different stamp from Usher, and who had other reasons to lament that tragical event. Archbishop Williams had actively supported the royal cause in North Wales at the beginning of the war, but his choleric temper had been exasperated at having Conway Castle taken from his command by Sir John Owen, acting under the authority of Prince Rupert. In a moment of irritation he offered his services to the Parliamentary army, and helped them to force Sir John Owen to surrender. But from the time that Williams heard of the death of the King, his spirit seemed completely broken. He lived very retired, and constantly rose at midnight to spend some time in devotion. It was not long before he died, bitterly lamenting the sad and troublous times.*

Chap. XXI. 1642-9. Archbishop Williams.

With the breaking up of the society at Oxford, and the violent scattering of its members, fell the last stronghold of the Church's influence, and the triumphant fanatic might now look round with complacency, and contemplate the ruin which he had made. Deprived of their means of subsistence, driven from their homes, the exercise of their ministry denied them, railed upon, scoffed at and persecuted, many thousands of the clergy of the Church of England were now beggars and outcasts upon the earth. What had been their crime? They were made to suffer for the offence given by some few of their leading men who had embarked in unpopular courses, and grievously offended that

Reflections upon the sufferings of the clergy.

* Hacket's *Williams.* Collier's *Church History,* viii., 361.

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love of liberty which both in civil and religious matters is so cherished by our race. Against the parish priests of England as a body, there was no crime to allege. In learning, in industry, in self-respect, the clergy of this period were infinitely before those under Elizabeth or James.* They were not seeking to introduce some new and deadly system, to subvert the faith, or ruin the morals of their flocks. Accusations of Popery had been freely made against them, but where were the proofs? In this time of trouble, of rebuke and blasphemy, there were no English clergy seen apostatising to the Romish superstitions. They had indeed railed off their communion tables, and they bowed at the name of Jesus, but had they refused to do these things, they would have been brought before the High Commission Court; and with what justice can subjects be punished for the laws which bind them? The first blows struck by the Parliament at the Church, had been those of an exasperated retaliation for the discipline of Laud. Then came, with the war, the political necessity for courting the Puritan, and conciliating the Scotch. But neither for the extravagances of the Primate, nor for the requirements of the struggle against the King, ought the moderate and orthodox

* "Time had spent the old stock of Sir Johns, planted into churches, in the hurly-burly days of Queen Elizabeth, illiterate mechanics and such who could but read and write, and gather in the tithes for the patron's use, with curchees for some wages for their journey-work, thereby vilifying their sacred function, and men of worth were sprung into their places."—*Persecutio Undecima*, p. 6.

clergy to have been made to suffer, and in tendering the Covenant, and requiring the disuse of the Liturgy, to neither of which could any respectable clergyman submit without disgrace, the Parliament lent itself to an infamous tyranny. Because some great principles were staked upon that struggle, the injustice done to the clergy is too often lightly passed by, although its lessons ought not to be forgotten. The clergy, be it remembered, were sacrificed by wholesale, for a system which in two or three years its supporters reprobated and discarded. They were ejected from their livings for not taking the Covenant, but when the Covenant speedily became a dead letter, a by-word, and a jest, the clergy who had suffered for refusing it, were not replaced. Some attempts of this sort made under the Protectorate were carefully stopped, for Cromwell, who by some strange infatuation has gained in modern times a reputation for toleration, was from first to last a bitter and determined foe of the orthodox clergy. It was not now as in the case of the St. Bartholomew ejections, a simple question whether incumbents of livings would submit to the system of the Church in which they held their preferment. The committee of Puritans which sat at Westminster in no sense represented the Church of England. Their work was no more binding upon the Anglican clergy, than the decrees of the Dutch Synod of Dort. Indeed, a conscientious incumbent who approved most heartily of the doctrine and discipline of the Westminster

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Assembly, could not accept their Directory and Confession, and discard the Liturgy which he had sworn to observe, without perjury and sin. Neither could the ordinances of a maimed Parliament give these innovations a legal force. It was a time when no new law *could* be effectually made. The ancient order in things ecclesiastical should at any rate have been retained until a civil settlement had been effected. But had this been done, it would have been at the expense of the power belonging to the energies of a gratified fanaticism. There would then have been no Hugh Peters, Harrison, or Barebones. The Rebellion, would have taken the form of the Revolution, and the Church, which needed a check in its secular aspirations, might have been spared an infamous persecution. But here, too, it is good to note the overruling Providence which is above all. Presbyterians and Independents melted away, and the Church came back from her time of trial purified seven times in the fire. Compare the prelates of the Laudian times with those who adorned the Church at the Restoration era, and the effect of the troubles will be very apparent. Compare such men as Field, Mainwaring, Goodman, Corbet, and Neile, with Earle, Morley, Ward, Barrow, Sancroft, and Ken; and it will be seen that the lesson was not thrown away. The secularity of the Laudian period has changed into a devout earnestness for the spiritual interests of the Church. A higher tone of Churchmanship prevails. Amongst the

many drawbacks and blemishes which still cling around it; amidst faults of policy, of temper and of teaching, the Church of the Restoration showed that more was done for its best interests during this season of trouble than in all its previous history.

## CHAPTER XXII.

Chap. XXII. 1649-54.

The Independents in ascendency—Favoured by the sectaries—Fanatical character of the time—Number of the sects—Immorality of their tenets—Baxter's account of their origin—The leading men obliged to court them—Presbyterians—Independents—Anabaptists—Fifth monarchy men—Vanists—Seekers—Ranters—Familists—Quakers—Behmenists—Papist intrigues—The Engagement—Accepted by some Churchmen—Refused by others and by the Presbyterians—Sectarian attacks—Scene in Walton Church—Attacks on the Presbyterians—They look to the Scotch—Attempts to soothe them—They cannot accept the notion of a toleration—State of feeling among the loyal clergy—The "Propagation of the Gospel" in Wales—Ireland subdued—The Scotch make conditions with Charles II.—Are routed at Dunbar—Cromwell in Edinburgh—Success, the criterion of right and wrong—Mr. Love's trial and execution—Scotch invade England—Are routed at Worcester—Kirk discipline checked in Scotland—Rump Parliament dismissed—Barebones Parliament—Their scheme for regulating religious matters—Enthusiasm systematized—Cromwell's Policy—Dismisses the Barebones Convention—Appointed Lord Protector—Religious provisoes of the "Instrument"—Cromwell's toleration—State of religion during the Commonwealth—No Church government—No ordination—No administration of the Sacraments—A few ministers of the English Church still remaining—Evelyn's *Diary*—English clergy in France—Dr. Cosin as chaplain—Devotional writings for members of the Church—Bishop Prideaux's *Euchologia*.

The Independents in ascendency.



ONG before the Independent party had gained political ascendency, the religious opinions which they favoured had virtually obtained a victory over Presbyterianism. The majority of the Assembly of Divines had been controlled by a

minority, small indeed in number, but powerful in the support of the Parliament, the people, and the army. By speaking boldy for a toleration, which the Presbyterian regarded as the most abominable sin of which a government could be guilty, the Independent enlisted in his favour the numerous sectaries who were now spreading rapidly through the land, from the army in which they had originated. The complete triumph of the army over the Parliament, the expulsion of the Presbyterian members, the defeat of the Scotch, the abolition of King and House of Lords, the seizure of all power by the Rump Parliament gave the Independents an absolute victory. Their system being congregational and select, could not contemplate or attempt the providing for a national church, and by the very necessity of the case, its triumph must ensure the growth of the sectaries side by side with itself. The only effort which the Independent was willing to make on behalf of the masses, was the sending itinerary preachers among them to stir them up to religious zeal,* which must then be left to assume the form and direction most agreeable to the tastes of the awakened believers. The success of the experiment of this kind which was made in Wales will be detailed in another place; meanwhile, it is evident at a glance, that the system

Chap. XXII. 1649-54. Favoured by sectaries.

* C. Walker's *History of Independency*, ii., 156. "It was referred to a committee to consider of a way how to raise pensions and allowances out of deans' and chapters' lands, to maintain supernumerary itinerant ministers who should be authorized to go up and down compassing the earth, and adulterate other men's pulpits and congregations."

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of "gathered" congregations can only be tolerable when there is an Established Church in the background, but that to depend upon it for the religious instruction of a nation is at once to inaugurate a saturnalia of doctrines, creeds, and morals.

Fanatical character of the time.

The period on which we are now entering, is the most singular in the religious history of the country, and no thoughtful member of the Church of England can regard it without interest, inasmuch as the mania of sectarianism, by its very intensity, was the means of bringing back to reverence and honour that Church which had been for a moment overthrown by the short triumph of Presbyterian rancour.

Number of the sects.

The sects which were developed by the religious earnestness of the period, and which took their rise for the most part among the Puritanical soldiers of the Parliamentary army, were many in number. Mr. Edwards, a Presbyterian minister in London, published a book called *Gangræna*, in which he reckoned up no less than one hundred and seventy-six erroneous opinions publicly entertained and defended; and that some of these were of the most atrocious description, may be gathered from an act passed by the Rump Parliament in August, 1649.

Immorality of their tenets.

By this it is enacted, that "if any person shall profess that the acts of adultery, drunkenness, swearing, and the like, are in their own nature as holy and righteous as the duties of prayer, preaching, or giving thanks to God; or whosoever shall avowedly profess that happiness consists in the commission of such crimes; that there is really no such thing as sin or unrighteous-

ness independent of conscience and opinion, that there is neither heaven nor hell, &c., shall suffer six months' imprisonment for the first offence."* Here we trace Anabaptism and Antinomianism running into downright atheism, and we can scarce wonder at the respectable Presbyterian minister regretting the days of "Canterbury and the Prelates," who at any rate by the terror of the law kept these blasphemies in obscurity.† Chap. XXII. 1649-54.

Richard Baxter, who had served as a chaplain in the army, and whose candid temper and acute observation give his remarks on the times an especial value, has left us a sketch of the sectaries, and some of their most singular opinions. "I found," says he, "that many honest men of weak judgments had been seduced into a disputing vein, and made it too much of their religion to talk for this opinion and for that; sometimes for State democracy, and sometimes for Church democracy; sometimes against forms of prayer, and sometimes against infant baptism; sometimes against set times of prayer, and against the tying of ourselves to any duty before the Spirit move us, and sometimes about free-grace, and free-will, and all the points of Antinomianism and Arminianism. And because I perceived that it was a few men that bore the bell, that did all the hurt among them, I acquainted myself with those men, and would be oft disputing with them in the hearing of the rest, and I found that they were men that had been in London, Baxter's account of their origin.

* Collier's *Church Hist.*, viii., 362.

† See Epistle Dedicatory to Edwards's *Gangræna*.

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hatched up among the old Separatists, and had made it all the matter and study of their religion to rail against ministers and parish churches, and Presbyterians, and had little other knowledge, nor little discourse of anything about the heart or heaven."*

The leading men obliged to court them.

From this source sprang all the various sects which spread over the country, and the addiction to which was so general and so enthusiastic, that those who aspired to lead in either civil or military matters, were forced to court popularity by religious eccentricities. Thus, Sir Henry Vane was himself the founder of a sect, Harrison prayed and prophesied as in a rapture,† and Cromwell "spent an hour in prayer and an hour and a half in a sermon."‡ "All this," says Baxter, very wisely, "began but in unwarrantable separations, and too much aggravating the faults of the Churches, and Common Prayer Book, and ministry."§ The notion of the excellence of separation and exclusiveness once entertained, the most startling results naturally followed.

Presbyterians

The *Presbyterians* claimed to be regarded as a National Church, and utterly rejected the notion of allowing other religions side by side with their own; we may, therefore, hardly classify them as a sect, and it is perhaps more fitting to describe them as a rival Church. During the four or five years' predominance which they enjoyed in England, they

* Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 53. † *Ibid.*, pp. 54, 74.
‡ Walker's *Hist. of Independency*, ii., 153.
§ Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 102.

were able, as we have seen, to obtain Parliamentary ordinances for the entire abolition of the ancient Church government and of the Book of Common Prayer, and the adoption, in place of these, of a Directory as a substitute for the Liturgy, a new catechism in place of the old one, and a confession of faith to supersede the Thirty-nine Articles. Their artificial scheme of Church Government by lay elders and assemblies was also decreed, but never fully established. With regard to discipline, they had failed to induce the Parliament to erect it for them independent of the state, as had been done in Scotland, but with this reservation their scheme of discipline had been allowed. At the time of the King's death, therefore, they claimed to be the established Church of the nation.*

Independents

They were, however, opposed and checked at all points by the *Independents*, who, with political power in their favour from the support of Cromwell and the Rump Parliament, were able to set at naught the Presbyterian claims for the nationality of their discipline. The Independents differed from the Presbyterians mainly on the points of Church government and discipline, and not necessarily in

* "The beneficed clergy throughout England, till the return of Charles II, were chiefly, but not entirely, of this denomination." —Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, i., 610. Mr. Orme (*Life of Owen*, p. 136) says, "Both Baptists and Independents were in the habit of accepting the livings. They did not, however, view themselves as parish ministers, and bound to administer all the ordinances of religion to the parish population. They occupied the parochial edifices, and received a portion of the tithes for their maintenance; but in all other respects acted according to their own principles."

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doctrine, as they were for the most part Calvinists. Their founder was Mr. John Robinson, an English minister, who had gathered a congregation at Leyden of those who sought to escape the disciplinarian strictness of Archbishop Bancroft. They held that though congregations might be joined together in a Christian union, so as to constitute a Church, yet that each congregation was to regulate its own discipline, choose its own minister, &c., and they utterly scorned and abjured the authority of classical and synodical assemblies.* In the administration of the Lord's Supper they appear to have treated the holy rite more as an act of Christian fellowship than a solemn means of grace. "Their way of celebration," says Baillie, "seems to be very irreverent. They have the Communion every Sabbath, without any preparation before, or thanksgiving after, little examination of people; their very prayers and doctrine before the sacrament uses not to be directed to the use of the sacrament. The elements are distributed and participated in silence, without exhortation, reading, or singing, and all is ended with a psalm, without prayer." †

Anabaptists.

From the Independents sprung the *Anabaptists*, the founder of whom was Mr. Smith. They separated from the Independents in Holland, on the question of baptism, holding that that sacrament could not be fitly administered to any but adult and advanced Christians, and that it must necessarily be administered by complete immersion.

* Orme's *Life of Owen*, p. 63.
† Baillie's *Letters*, ii., 149.

This sect soon appeared in considerable numbers in England,* and was especially marked by a bitter and implacable hostility to all other denominations of Christians. Baxter complains that they chose out the most able, zealous preachers, to make the marks of their attacks, and that they opposed godly ministers quite as much as the drunkards and swearers did.† "They were, for the most part," says Neal, "of the meanest of the people, their preachers were generally illiterate, and went about the country making proselytes of all that would submit to their immersion, without a due regard to their acquaintance with the principles of religion, or their moral characters."‡ They professed to be governed in their congregations by the Independent discipline, but they appear to have been deeply tainted with Antinomian views.

Fifth-Monarchy men.

From the Anabaptists sprang the singular sect of the *Fifth-Monarchy men*, so called with reference to the four monarchies described in the prophet Daniel. These men, "drunk with enthusiasm and besotted with fanatic notions, do allow of none to have a share in government besides the saints." § They declaimed against human literature and hireling priests; crying down magistracy and a regular ministry, and talking in the most exalted strains of a fifth monarchy and King Jesus. ‖

Vanists.

No less fanatic than these were the *Vanists*, who

* Neal's *Puritans*, iii., 126-8.
† Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 102.
‡ *Puritans*, iii., 127.
§ Clarendon's *Rebellion*, p. 857.
‖ Neal's *Puritans*, iii., 129.

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took their opinions from that singular enthusiast, Sir Henry Vane; though, from the studied obscurity in which their founder veiled his religious speculations, it is extremely difficult to state what those opinions were.*

Seekers.

The *Seekers* taught that "our Scripture was uncertain, that present miracles are necessary to faith, that our ministry is null and without authority, and our worship and ordinances unnecessary and vain; the true worship, ministry, Scripture, and ordinances being lost, for which they are now *seeking*." †

Ranters.

The *Ranters* set up the light of nature under the name of "Christ in man," and disparaged the Scripture, the ministry, and ordinances; but this doctrine was accompanied by an atrocious libertinism of life.

Familists.

They held, with the *Familists*, that God regards not the outward actions, but only the heart; that to the pure all things are pure, even things forbidden; and their practice was quite in accordance with their views. "I have myself," says Baxter, "letters written from Abington, where among both soldiers and people this contagion did then prevail, full of horrid oaths, and curses, and blasphemy, not fit to be repeated by the tongue and pen of man; and this all uttered, as the effect of knowledge and a part of their religion, in a fanatic strain, and fathered on the Spirit of God." ‡

* Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 75.
† Baxter, p. 76.
‡ Baxter, p. 77.

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Quakers.

Of the same opinions with the Ranters, except that in place of licentiousness they practised or professed an extreme strictness, were the *Quakers*. The founder of this fanatical sect was George Fox, born at Drayton, in Lancashire, 1624. Fox was apprenticed to a shoemaker, but being possessed with a strange religious mania, he left his trade and wandered up and down the country like a madman, entering churches and denouncing the service, declaiming against learning and outward ordinances, and raving about his inward revelations. In those troubled times many unstable souls were led to follow him.....They talked much of the Spirit within them and despised the Scripture; "but their principal zeal," says Baxter, "lieth in railing at the ministers as hirelings, deceivers, false prophets, and in refusing to swear before a magistrate, or to put off their hats to any, or to say *You* instead of *Thou* or *Thee*, which are their words to all. At first they did use to fall into tremblings and sometimes vomitings in their meetings, but now it is ceased; they only meet, and he that pretendeth to be moved by the Spirit speaketh, and sometimes they say nothing, but sit an hour or more in silence and so depart. One while divers of them went naked through divers chief towns and cities of the land as a prophetical act; some of them have famished and drowned themselves in melancholy, and others undertaken by the power of the Spirit to raise them." * How strange that the puerile eccentricities of this sect should have survived to the

* Baxter, u. s. Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 38, sq.

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present day! In 1656, they are thus noticed by Evelyn: "I had the curiosity to visit some Quakers here (Ipswich); a new fanatic sect of dangerous principles, who show no respect to any man, magistrate or other, and seem a melancholy, proud sort of people, and exceedingly ignorant." *

Behmenists.

A sect called the *Behmenists* is described by Baxter as holding the sufficiency of the light of nature, and the salvation of heathens as well as Christians. Some of this sect pretended to hold visible and sensible communion with angels, whom they sometimes saw and sometimes smelt.†

Papist intrigues.

There is good reason for believing that the wild chaos of fantastic opinions, professed by these sects, was zealously fomented by emissaries from Rome.‡ In the Parliamentary army there were Jesuits, who, attracting attention by their strange ravings as Ranters or Seekers, thought to serve the interests of their order by aggravating the interminable confusion, and bringing the Protestant religion to a practical *reductio ad absurdum*. But their policy was an extremely short-sighted one. They succeeded, indeed, in making the religion of the sectaries contemptible and odious, but this was to make a

* Evelyn's *Diary*, ii., 114.

† Baxter's *Autobiography*, 77-8. See, for a good account of the Sectaries and their doings, Lathbury's *History of the Prayer Book*, chap. xii. Also Orme's *Life of Owen*.

‡ "It plainly appears that in the year 1646, by order from Rome, above one hundred of the Romish clergy were sent into England, who were most of them soldiers in the Parliament's army," &c.—*Bishop Bramhall to Archbishop Usher*. Bramhall's *Works*, i., 95. See Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 78. Neal's *Puritans*, iii., 474-5. *Foxes and Firebrands*.

way for the restoration of the reasonable worship of the Church of England, not to create a desire for the fantasies of Rome as senseless as the other. Chap. XXII. 1649-54.

Immediately after their seizure of power, and the abolition of the ancient government of the country by King, Lords, and Commons, the Rump Parliament endeavoured to strengthen their position by prescribing a new oath. In imitation of the Covenant, which had proved so effective in consolidating the Presbyterian party, they devised an *engagement* to be taken by all the people of the country, and without the taking of which none were to be allowed to exercise the ministry or any civil office. The oath was as follows: "I, A. B., do swear that I will be true and faithful to the government established without King and House of Peers."* The ordaining of this oath was equivalent to the abolition of the Covenant, which but a short time before had proved so disastrous to the Church of England; and on this ground it was certainly a relief to the oppressed members of that Church. It did not bind men to an active partisanship as the latter oath did, but merely signified their passive acquiescence in the existing state of things. Obedience to a *de facto* government (though owing its rise to injustice), when sufficiently settled and established, has been usually a prevalent doctrine in the Church of England, and hence we are not surprised to learn from Baxter that "some Episcopal divines did write for it, and pleaded the irresistibility of the

The Engagement.

Accepted by some churchmen.

* Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, i., 147.

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Refused by others, and by the Presbyterians.

imposer," * though, for the most part, the Episcopalians and royalists refused it,† as did also the Presbyterians, and became joint sufferers with the Episcopalians in consequence. It does not appear, however, that those who had been intruded into the places of expelled churchmen were forced to relinquish their prizes, and to make way for other and less rigid enthusiasts.‡

Sectarian attacks.

But sectarian attacks now seriously menaced the very existence of a national Church of any kind. From all sides petitions were poured into the Parliament, desiring that some better and less inconvenient provision than tithes might be made for the support of the ministry. The mad enthusiasm of the soldiers made itself felt and heard everywhere, even in churches. Into the parish church of Walton-on-Thames, there came on a Sunday after evening service, six soldiers, one of whom carried a lantern in his hand, with a lighted candle, and in the other hand four candles unlighted. He was

Scene in Walton church.

* Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 65. See Sanderson's *Case of the Engagement*, *Works*, vol. v. Edition 1854.

† "Our young student appeared upon this occasion and signalized himself by refusing to take the oath. The several hypotheses that were then started, to make men easy under a change of government, which was directly contrary to the national constitution, could not prevail upon him to comply. Neither the argument of Providence, nor present possession, nor the advantages of protection, which were all pleaded in those times, were strong enough to influence a mind that was early determined to be constant in duty towards the Church and the King.—Nelson's *Life of Bull*, p. 14; edition 1827. See D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, i., 48, sq.

‡ "None were ejected for being merely Presbyterial that I can think on."—Pierce's *New Discoverer Discovered*, p. 137.

making his way into the pulpit, when the congregation stopped him, refusing to hear him until he left the church. In the churchyard, however, they grouped around him, and he delivered what he called his message. This consisted, as he said, of five lights. (1.) That the Sabbath was abolished as unnecessary, Jewish, and merely ceremonial. "And here," he said, "I should put out my first light, but the wind is so high I cannot light it. (2.) Tithes are abolished as Jewish and ceremonial, a great burden to the saints of God, and a discouragement of industry and tillage. And here I should put out my second light, &c. (3.) Ministers are abolished as Antichristian, and no longer of use now Christ descends into the hearts of his saints, and his spirit enlighteneth them with revelations and inspirations. And here I should put out my third light, &c. (4.) Magistrates are abolished as useless, now that Christ himself is in purity of spirit come amongst us, and hath erected the kingdom of the saints upon earth; beside, they are tyrants and oppressors of the liberty of the saints, and tie them to laws and ordinances mere human inventions. And here I should have put out my fourth light," &c. (5.) Then putting his hand in his pocket, and pulling out a little Bible, he showed it open to the people, saying, "Here is a book you have in great veneration, consisting of two parts, the Old and New Testament; I must tell you, it is abolished. It containeth beggarly rudiments, milk for babes; but now Christ is in his glory amongst us, and imparts a fuller measure

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of his spirit to his saints than this can afford, and therefore I am commanded to burn it before your faces," so taking the candle out of his lanthorn, he set fire to the leaves. And then putting out the candle, "And here my fifth light is extinguished."*

This strange story well illustrates the wild fantasies prevailing among the soldiers, many of whom were disciples of the sects above enumerated. They boldly claimed to live under a direct spiritual guidance, and even went so far as to elect two officers in each regiment to meet and "seek God what advice to offer to the general."† The fanatical Hugh Peters preached violently against the Presbyterians, so that, says Walker, "His pulpit is more shameful than another man's pillory."‡ The Council recommended the repealing of all acts against sectaries. Milton, with a pen dipt in gall, scourged the Assembly divines, and everywhere the Presbyterian party was threatened with ruin. Driven to desperation, they replied vigorously both in the press and the pulpit, and immediately the Council directed acts to be passed for the censorship of the press, and for restraining ministers from handling state affairs in the pulpit.§

Attacks on the Presbyterians.

They look to the Scotch.

As their only hope of deliverance from the horrors of a toleration, and as the sole support of their beloved Covenant, the Presbyterians now

* C. Walker's *History of Independency*, ii., 153.

† Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 381.

‡ C. Walker's *History of Independency*, ii., 181. Many anecdotes might be related of the sermons of this notorious fanatic, but they all involve more or less of profanity, and are better omitted.

§ *Ibid*, ii., 205.

Attempts to soothe them.

looked northwards to the Scotch, and invited them to the rescue. With these allies in the distance, it was not safe for the government to exasperate the party too much. Hence, to soothe the ministers, Parliament made a declaration that tithes should not be taken away till another provision had been made for the ministry "equally large and honourable," and that the Presbyterian shall continue to be the established religion of the country.* They also ordained that the confiscated lands of bishops, and dean and chapters, should be sold, and part of the profits appropriated to the augmentation of poor livings by trustees, and that the first-fruits and tenths formerly payable to the Crown, should be entrusted to the same hands for the payment of yearly allowances to preaching ministers, schoolmasters and professors in the Universities.† The Parliament declared "for the satisfaction of their Presbyterian brethren," that they would continue all the ordinances of religion adopted by the Parliament on the recommendation of the Assembly of Divines. "Only," say they, "we consider ourselves obliged to take away all such ordinances as are penal and coercive in matters of conscience. And because this has given so great offence, we declare as in the presence of God, that by whomsoever this liberty shall be abused, we will be ready to testify our displeasure against them, by an effectual prosecution of all such offenders."‡

* Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 382.

† Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 24. Ludlow's *Memoirs*, i., 300.

‡ Neal, iv., 22. Toleration towards the Church was not con-

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They cannot accept the notion of toleration.

But no amount of conditions would avail to make a toleration acceptable to the Presbyterians. This grievance alone, if they had had no other, would have been quite sufficient to exasperate them against the government. The Provincial Assembly of London met in November, 1650, and published a vindication of their Church government, in which they denounce toleration as "odious," and earnestly contend for the Divine right of their platform. In every way short of open rebellion, they opposed the government. They refused to observe the fast and thanksgiving days ordered by authority, and kept fasts of their own appointing.* They refused to read the ordinances of the Parliament from their pulpits, and openly dissuaded the Presbyterian soldiers from lending their aid to put down the religion which they had embraced. †

State of feeling among the loyal clergy.

But if the Presbyterians thought that they had good ground for complaint, assuredly the clergy of the Church of England had not less. The news of the King's death had struck them with one universal thrill of horror. ‡ In the eyes of many he was a sanctified person, invested with a prerogative from heaven, which no power of man could law-

templated. The petition of the officers says, "It is not our meaning that toleration should extend to Popery, Prelacy, the Book of Common Prayer," &c. (Whitelocke, p. 404.) And September 9, 1649, we have this entry in Whitelocke: "One Mr. Williams sent to prison for reading the Book of Common Prayer publicly."—*Memorials*, p. 408.

* Neal, iv., 20. Whitelocke.

† Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 66.

‡ See D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, i., 44.

fully impair or resist.* In the regard of most others he was the head of the Church and State, with a legal and constitutional authority, which, though it might be resisted in its abuse, could not be destroyed or taken away by the other parts of the constitution, without an utter disruption of the whole framework of society. Even those of the Puritanical party took this view. "Though in mere estimation," says Baxter, "we preferred religion before king or kingdom, yet, in regard of the duty of defence, we thought the King must be restored and defended, though legally he would have brought in worse than prelacy."† Chap. XXII. 1649-54.

Propagation of the Gospel in Wales.

For a moment, perhaps, the English clergy may have been diverted from the thought of their own miseries by a not unnatural satisfaction at seeing the Presbyterians, who had dispossessed them, suffer in their turn. But more blows were soon to be inflicted upon themselves. In the beginning of the year 1650 was passed an Act for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales. "That part of the

* The high reverential feelings towards the King were immensely increased by the publication of the *Eikon Basiliké*, which was done immediately after his death. The book created an intense enthusiasm, and was in vain sought to be repressed by the Parliament. "It had the greatest run," says Burnet, "in many impressions that any book has had in our age. There was in it a nobleness and justness of thought with a greatness of style that made it to be looked on as the best-written book in the English language; and the piety of the prayers made all people cry out against the murder of a prince who thought so seriously of all his affairs in his secret meditations before God."—(Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 31.) It has before been stated that the weight of evidence is conclusive against this book being actually composed by Charles. Dr. Gauden was doubtless the author.

† Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 65.

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kingdom," says Walker, "had hitherto, partly, as I conceive, by their loyalty, and partly by the barrenness of their country, protected the clergy there from bearing an equal share of misery with the rest of their brethren."* It was new ground, in which the Parliament might operate with a certain prospect of a bountiful harvest. Here, too, they might try a new method, which might be shown to be far in advance of the slower and more cumbrous modes of Presbyterianism, with its parochial ministers, Directory, and ruling elders—a new and sweeping method for propagating the Gospel in its purity, with a very little trouble and at a very trifling expense. The plan pursued is said to have been devised by that mischievous fanatic, Hugh Peters, and his biographer thus accounts for his share therein. Hugh Peters, having followed Cromwell into Ireland as chaplain, was despatched from thence into Wales, by the General, to raise a body of recruits for the Irish service. Having either neglected, or failed to do this to the satisfaction of his employers, some complaints appear to have been made against him, which he met by declaring that his time had been more profitably employed in forming a Church after the true Christian model; and to follow up this, he went to London to give the Parliament advice concerning the state of religion in Wales. He informed them that the whole of the Welsh clergy were scandalous or ignorant, and recommended them by one act to sequester all ministers without exception; to bring the revenues

* Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, i., 147.

of their livings into one common fund, and out of this to allow £100 a year to six itinerant ministers in each county, who were to make tours and instruct the people.* An act, with this provision, was accordingly passed, and at the same time (so pleased was the Rump Parliament with the plan) a similar act was passed for the four northern counties.†

A measure of such sweeping and audacious tyranny must, even in those times, have required an attempt at justification; and, therefore, we need not give implicit credence to the charges brought against the unfortunate Welsh clergy, whom it was sought to ruin in reputation as well as in estate. Neal, who, as an Independent, could regard these doings with complacency, among the crimes of the clergy, which he repeats, mentions the fact that "they generally adhered to the King."‡ Hence, probably, their proscription. But the revenues of the Welsh Church were not unacceptable to the necessitous Parliament, and must, says Neal, have amounted to a very considerable sum.§ What, in the meantime, was the state of the many hundreds of clergy who, with their wives and families, were suddenly ejected from their homes among the mountains and lakes of that picturesque land, in

* Dr. Yonge's *Life of Hugh Peters*, pp. 78—81. Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 104.

† Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 427. The second act does not appear to have been put in execution. Dr. Yonge says "This inundation had passed over England, had not Colonel Freeman, myself, and Mr. Gunter set a stand to their renewing of their ordinance to make it universal throughout the kingdom."—*Life of Peters*, p. 85.

‡ Neal, iv., 104.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

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order that a few turbulent schismatics might roam through the country preaching a hideous parody on the Gospel of Peace and Religion of Love.* It is scarcely necessary to say that the provision made for the instruction of the principality was ridiculously inadequate and altogether useless. Neal, the apologist of the measure, admits that "the people must needs be neglected, and their children too much without instruction," † and Baxter says that the "few itinerant preachers were, for number, incompetent to so great a charge, so that the people having but a sermon once in many weeks, were ready to turn Papists or anything." ‡

Ireland subdued.

Meantime, Cromwell, despatched to Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant and in command of the army,

* Dr. Walker, who has investigated this subject with great care, comes to the conclusion that there were between 500 and 600 ministers ejected, and no less a sum than £345,000 abstracted from the revenues of the Church in Wales.—See *Sufferings of the Clergy*, i., 147—170.

† Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 107. Yonge's *Life of Hugh Peters*, p. 83, "Scarce a sermon heard in sixty mile."

‡ Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 70. Whitelocke gives a somewhat more favourable account; but in 1653 only reckons 150 itinerants for the whole of Wales.—*Memorials*, p. 518. These, I conclude, are some of the Reformers who come in for Mr. Carlyle's eulogy: "Our Puritan reformers were, as all reformers that will much benefit this earth are always, inspired by a Heavenly purpose! To see God's own law made good in this world, to see this, or the true unwearied aim and struggle towards this, it was a thing worth living and dying for. That England should all become a Church, if you like to name it so—a Church presided over not by sham-priests, in four surplices, at Allhallowtide, but by true God-consecrated ones, whose hearts the Most High had touched and hallowed with his fire—this was the hope of many, it was the God-like hope and effort of some!"—Carlyle's *Cromwell*, i., 116. Third edition.

was gaining a series of sanguinary successes over the forces of the royalists and native Irish, united under Lord Ormond. Hugh Peters, in command of a battalion, was fighting by his side, and inciting the soldiers to murder their fellow creatures in the name of the Most High. The Parliament was appointing days of thanksgiving for the foul butcheries sanctioned by their generals, and at the same time was piously occupied in setting apart one day in the week for discussing how best to propagate the Gospel, in passing acts for a stricter observation of the Sabbath, to punish divers immoralities, and to abolish stage-plays.*

The Scotch make conditions with Charles II.

But it now became necessary to recall the victorious General from Ireland to meet the storm which threatened the Parliament from Presbyterian Scotland. The Scotch were not disinclined to a King, but they prudently tried always to make as much out of him as possible. Thus, having given up Charles I. for a money consideration, they were now willing to accept Charles II. for a religious one, the support of the Covenant and Presbyterianism. The young King, long doubtful whether to cast in his lot with the broken remains of the royalists—the gallant Montrose and the noble Ormond—or to accept the Presbyterian conditions, at last, unfortunately for his honour, chose the latter course. He accepted their terms with a deliberate intention to break them; and it is but a miserable palliation to say that the Scotch themselves knew that he was

* Whitelocke's *Memorials*, 424-5, &c. Yonge's *Life of Peters*, 74-75.

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acting a solemn farce.* Baxter's reflections on this disgraceful transaction are very wise. "How they could refuse to receive the King till he consented to take the Covenant I know not, unless the taking the Covenant had been a condition on which he was to receive his crown by the laws and fundamental constitution of the country, which none pretendeth. But they did cause him not only to take the Covenant, but also to publish a declaration to the world that he did it voluntarily and heartily, and that he lamented the sins of his father's house, acknowledging the guilt of the blood of the late wars. In all which it seemed to me and many others that they miscarried divers ways. (1.) In imposing laws upon their King for which they had no authority. (2.) In forcing him to dishonour the memory of his father by such concessions. (3.) In tempting him to speak and publish that which they might easily know was contrary to his heart, and so to take God's name in vain. (4.)

* Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 34 (edition 1838). Burnet's account of the young King, under the Presbyterian discipline, is well known: "He brought himself into as grave a deportment as he could. He heard many prayers and sermons, some of a great length. I remember, in one fast day, there were six sermons preached without intermission. I was there myself, and not a little weary of so tedious a service. The King was not allowed so much as to walk abroad on Sundays; and if at any time there had been any gaiety at court, such as dancing or playing at cards, he was severely reproved for it. This was managed with so much rigour, and so little discretion, that it contributed not a little to beget in him an aversion to all sort of strictness in religion." Charles himself writes to Secretary Nicholas: "Nothing has confirmed me more to the Church of England than being here and seeing their hypocrisy."—Evelyn's *Memoirs*, v., 181.

And in giving Cromwell occasion to charge them all with dissimulation." *

Are routed at Dunbar.

Seeing the Scotch preparing their army, Cromwell anticipated them, and entered Scotland. The same men, who had just murdered Montrose with frightful barbarity, now showed themselves incompetent in battle, and were utterly routed and annihilated at Dunbar by a half-starved army of one-third of their number. Immediately afterwards, Cromwell entered Edinburgh as a conqueror. The Presbyterian ministers, who had excited the people to the war, now deemed it prudent to withdraw, even though they had to leave their flocks at Edinburgh without shepherds. Upon this Cromwell rebuked their fears, and gave them a lecture upon "pretending a glorious reformation," while their real object was to gain for themselves power. "We look upon ministers," says he, "as helpers of, not lords over, the faith of God's people. I hope He that ascended up on high may give His gifts to whom He please, and if those gifts be the seal of mission, be not envious, though Eldad and Medad prophesy."†

Cromwell in Edinburgh.

Success, the criterion of right and wrong.

There was certainly a great temptation to men of an enthusiastic temperament to see a directly favourable interposition of Providence in such events as the battle of Dunbar. It was immediately after the

* Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 66. Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 37. Besides condemning his father, the King was required to condemn his mother also. He was to profess his father's guilt for having married into an idolatrous family. "The King," says Burnet, "was very uneasy. He said he could never look his mother in the face again."

† Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 458.

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General and army had concluded their prayers and fasting that the Scotch began the attack, which, of all things, was the most favourable to the English, and fatal to the Scotch. Cromwell was doubtless speaking the sense of most of his army when he appealed to the stamp of success as the great proof of the goodness of their cause. "We could wish that blindness had not been upon your eyes to those marvellous dispensations which God has lately wrought in England. But did not you solemnly appeal and pray? Did not we do so, too? And ought not we and you to think, with fear and trembling, on the hand of the great God in this mighty and strange appearance of his?"*

While the Scotch were contending against Cromwell in arms, their English friends were endeavouring to assist their cause by intrigues. But the Government was vigilant and determined. Mr. Love, a leading man among the London ministers, was tried and condemned to die for holding treasonable communication with the enemies of the Parliament. It was a new phase in the persecutions of those times for one to be arraigned and punished who had borne a leading part in the Puritanical opposition to the Episcopal discipline. Mr. Love, in his defence, could claim for himself as merits, that he had been the first man at Oxford to refuse to subscribe the canons made by the late Archbishop, for which he had been expelled the Convocation House. That he had been opposed by the Bishop of London, and had with difficulty obtained a lecture.

Mr. Love's trial and execution.

* Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 33.

That he had been imprisoned at Newcastle for preaching against the Service Book, and had been complained of at the negociations at Uxbridge for a violent sermon against the King.* Yet, in spite of all these claims, he was condemned to die. The greatest interest was made to save his life. Every engine that the still powerful Presbyterian party could use, was plied with vigour. Cromwell was petitioned to interfere. But it was necessary to show the English Presbyterians that the Government was not to be trifled with, and Mr. Love was brought to the scaffold. "He died," says Baxter, "neither timorously nor proudly, but with as great alacrity, and fearless quickness and freedom of speech, as if he had but gone to bed, and been as little concerned as the standers-by. This blow sunk deeper towards the root of the new Commonwealth than will easily be believed, and made them grow odious to almost all the religious party in the land, except the Sectaries; for the people would not believe that they sought the promoting of the Gospel who killed the ministers for the interest of their faction."†

Scotch invade England.

But triumphant success still attended the arms of Cromwell. The Scotch, unable to cope with him in their own country, thought to strike a grand blow by invading England and leaving him behind. They had first crowned the King at Scone with the unfair conditions mentioned above, and they now marched southwards, proclaiming Charles II. and the Covenant. But they met with no response

* Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 47. † Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 67.

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in England. The Presbyterian party held back, not believing that the conditions imposed upon the King were really binding, and foreseeing that if he returned to power they would assuredly suffer: "and it is hard," says Baxter, "to bring men readily to venture their lives to bring themselves into a prison, or beggary, or banishment."* The Cavaliers, on the other hand, had no notion of fighting for the Covenant, which they knew the King liked as little as they did. Besides, the Scotch progress looked more like a flight than a march, and all men waited to see the issue between the invaders and the army of Cromwell, which was following at their heels with the greatest haste possible. At Worcester, Cromwell came up with them, and utterly defeated them. He was able to write to the Parliament that this, indeed, was a "crowning mercy."† One thing only was wanting. The young King had escaped. Not all the most intense search availed to discover him. After six or seven weeks of hairbreadth risks, he crossed to France, and joined the Queen Mother at Paris.

Are routed at Worcester.

Henceforth it was determined in the councils of the exiled family that the Presbyterian interest was not worth the courting. The King threw off the Covenant, and began to build his hopes upon the Romanists. He held out to them a prospect of his becoming a convert, and many of the courtiers, in anticipation of the change, proceeded at once to adopt the fashionable religion.‡

* Baxter, p. 68. † Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 483.
‡ Clarendon's *Rebellion*. Cosin's *Life*. Neal's *Puritans*, iv.,

Meantime, in Scotland, the stronghold of Presbyterianism, Independents, and Sectaries openly opposed the exercise of the discipline of the Kirk, derided and menaced the Assemblies, and compelled their discontinuance. General Monk followed up the successes of Cromwell, and everywhere the arms of the republic were triumphant.

Kirk discipline checked in Scotland.

But the cessation of the war made the army dangerous to its employers, and the Parliament wishing to reduce it, was openly menaced, and reminded that it sat itself only by sufferance, and not as the real representative body of the English people. At length Cromwell seeing that the quarrel was irreconcilable, went into the house with a file of soldiers, and telling the members that "they were no Parliament, and that he was come there to stop their prating," bid his soldiers remove "that fool's bauble," the mace, caused the members to leave the House, and locked the door.*

Rump Parliament dismissed.

The Convention of one hundred and forty delegates now summoned by him and his council of officers, and usually known by the name of the Barebones Parliament,† showed a great desire to

Barebones Parliament.

54. Yet, in 1654, Charles wrote strongly to his brother the Duke of Gloucester to dissuade him from changing his religion. "Do not let them persuade you, either by force or fair promises; for the first they neither dare nor will use, and for the second, as soon as they have perverted you, they will have their end, and then they will care no more for you. Remember the last words of your dead father, which were, to be constant to your religion, and never to be shaken in it."—Evelyn's *Memoirs*, v., 192.

* Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 529.

† From a leatherseller of this singular name, who was one of the most active members of it.

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Their scheme for regulating religious matters.

signalize its existence by a wholesale destruction. A committee was appointed to investigate the subject of tithes, which recommended "That commissioners should be sent into all counties, divided into six circuits. Three commissioners from London for each circuit, and four or six of every county. The commissioners to have power to eject all ministers who are not of good behaviour and holy in conversation; or not apt and able to teach, and hold not forth the faithful word, or be not diligent, or labour not in the word and doctrine, or be greedy of filthy lucre. And that they be empowered to settle godly and able persons to preach the Gospel in all void places, and to unite two or three parishes together, so that none be above three miles from the public meeting place; and that such as shall be approved for public preachers, may enjoy the maintenance set by laws, and such further as the Parliament hath or shall allow. That where any scruple the payment of tithes, the neighbour justices set a value on those due which the owner of the land pay, or else the minister may sue for them." *

Enthusiasm systematized.

This was a scheme almost as sweeping as that for the propagation of the Gospel in Wales. All

* Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 551. "Hath it not been put to the vote of an Assembly, that same called a Parliament of England, whether the whole frame of the established ministry and its legal maintenance, should be taken down? And were we not put to plead our title to that maintenance, as if we had been falling into the hands of Turks, that thirsted for our subversion, as resolved enemies to the Christian cause?—Baxter's *Preface to Reformed Pastor*.

the parish ministers in England were to hold their incumbencies upon the opinion of a small irresponsible committee that they were godly, and able and apt to teach. At this period enthusiasm had passed from mere eccentricity of demeanour into a creed and a system. Men believed that they could actually distinguish the godly and able by certain ascertainable phenomena. That a peculiar freedom in giving utterance to Scripture expressions, a marked and unnatural mannerism, were safe criteria of a holy state. Hence the committee which recommended that commissioners should be appointed to find out who were godly and able and who were not, and to eject these latter from the ministry, may have been seriously recommending what they thought quite within the power of the commissioners. Upon the report of the committee, a great debate took place, and it was negatived, by the narrow majority of two.* This was in effect not only to throw over the scheme for sending commissioners to judge the ministers, but also to vote against the allowance of tithes, and was a decision in the extreme sectarian interest.†

Cromwell's policy.

Cromwell now began to show himself on the side of decency and order, and to indicate plainly that he was prepared to be the saviour of the nation from such outbreaks of fanaticism. He calculated very astutely that men would rather accept the rational tyranny of one man, than expose all the institutions of the country to the restless

* Whitelocke, u. s. Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 70.
† Hallam's *Const. Hist.*, i., 652.

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and ignorant zeal of a mob of enthusiasts.* The nation gladly welcomed the dismissal of the Barebones Convention, which appears to have distinguished itself by nothing but the passing an act to make marriage a civil contract,† but which had well served the turn of those who summoned it by making the scheme of appointing Cromwell Lord Protector tolerable to the nation. "He made more use," says the keen observer of the times before quoted, "of the wild-headed sectaries than barely to fight for him. They now serve him as much by their heresies, their enmity to learning and ministry, their pernicious demands which tended to confusion, as they had formerly done by their valour in the field. For now he exclaimeth against the giddiness of these unruly men, and earnestly pleadeth for order and government, and will needs become the patron of the ministry, so as to secure all others of their liberty."‡

Dismisses the Barebones Convention.

Appointed Lord Protector.

On December 16, 1653, the junto of officers and others, whom Cromwell had selected to put his intentions into form, agreed to the Instrument which constituted him Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and entrusted to him the government, assisted by a council of twenty-one, and by a House of Com-

* See the very curious conversation between Cromwell and Whitelocke, given in the *Memorials* of the latter.

† "This day there is expected an act for the regulating of matrimony, that is, for the establishing of fornication throughout the kingdom. A ticket from the clerk, and then *prodi nova nupta*. Fine doings, but well enough becoming this adulterous generation."—Dr. Holdsworth to Sancroft. *Tanner MSS.*, 52, 34.

‡ Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 70.

mons of four hundred and sixty members, to be selected triennially. Chap. XXII. 1649-54.

In its provisoes on religious matters, this instrument is sufficiently vague, and the toleration which it ostentatiously professes, entirely delusive. "The Christian religion contained in the Scriptures is to be held forth and recommended as the public profession of these nations." Tithes are to be taken away as soon as a more satisfactory maintenance can be provided for the ministry. Such as "profess faith in God through Jesus Christ, though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship, or discipline publicly held forth, shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in the profession of the faith and exercise of their religion, so as they abuse not their liberty to the civil injury of others, and to the actual disturbance of the public peace on their parts. *Provided* this liberty be not extended to Popery and *Prelacy*, nor to such as under the profession of Christ hold forth and practise licentiousness." * Religious provisoes of the "Instrument."

Such was the notion of toleration which found favour with these *illuminati*. Everything was to be allowed except what they themselves disliked; and as the temperate spirituality of the Reformed Anglican Church was utterly distasteful to their crude religionism, they could find no place for its time-honoured Liturgy, even in their Pantheon of creeds.† Under the new government, which Cromwell's toleration.

* Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 557.

† Even Neal cannot defend this. "The Instrument was undoubtedly faulty in putting Popery, Prelacy, and licentiousness

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prated of religious liberality, it could obtain no freer scope than under the undisguised intolerance of Presbyterianism. An abominable tyranny invaded even the sanctity of domestic devotion, and no man was allowed to read the Book of Common Prayer even in his own household.* It is asserted that the principles of the Lord Protector would extend even as far as the toleration of the service of the English Church, but that he was kept back by the fear of arming all his supporters against him by so terrible a concession. The principles of Cromwell, however, were the pressure of political expediency, which may probably explain the reason why none even of his most devoted admirers has succeeded in giving to the character of this able but unscrupulous man, a consistent interpretation. From such a man liberality and justice might be expected, if it were worth his while to show them, but upon no other ground. Having falsified all his professions, deceived all his friends, and lied till no man believed him, he was constrained politicly to play one party against another,† and hence some occasional gleams of hope were allowed to cheer even the persecuted clergy of the Church of England. But, in his heart, the new Protector must ever of necessity have hated that Church

of manners upon a level.....If the Episcopalians would have given security for their living peaceably under their new masters, they ought certainly to have been protected."—*Puritans*, iv., 73.

* Evelyn's *Diary*, ii., 65. Lathbury's *Hist. Prayer Book*, p. 287.

† "He seemed to have no way left to support himself but by balancing his new with his old enemies."—Ludlow's *Memoirs*, p. 519.

whose loyalty condemned his usurpation, whose sober piety disgraced his fanatical rants, and whose plain practical teaching branded crime, however speciously veiled.

State of religion during the Commonwealth.

During the period of the Commonwealth, religion was probably at as low an ebb as at any period of our history. "The common people," says Isaak Walton, "were amazed, and grown restless and giddy, by the many falsehoods and misapplications of truths frequently vented in sermons, when they wrested the Scripture by challenging God to be of their party, and called upon him in their prayers to patronize their sacrilege and zealous frenzies."* Dr. Sanderson, who had good opportunities of judging of the state of feeling prevalent in the country, used to lament very much that "by means of irregular and indiscreet preaching, the generality of the nation were possessed with such dangerous mistakes, as to think they might be religious first, and then just and merciful; that they might sell their consciences, and yet have something left which was worth keeping; that they might be sure they were elected though their lives were visibly scandalous; that to be cunning was to be wise, and to be rich was to be happy; that to speak evil of Government, and to be busy in those things they understood not, was no sin."† In 1648, Richard Baxter wrote, "Alas! by sad experience I speak it. Those that will openly and to my face make an orthodox confession, do secretly harden many poor

* Walton's *Sanderson*, Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 444.

† Walton's *Sanderson*, Wordsworth, iv., 447.

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souls by making a scorn of Scripture as a fable, and of the immortality of the soul, and of Christ, and the Holy Ghost, and heaven and hell, and say all these are nothing but the inventions of men; and that the knave-priests do persuade men that there are devils and hell as a bugbear.....Such heathens are the predominant sect in many places, and higher in England than once I thought to have seen them."* Dr. Gauden's *Hieraspistes* was published in 1653, and in it he brings the most severe and sweeping charges against the moral and religious state of the country. He complains of the prevalence of an "illiterate and illiberal disposition, neither learned to morality, nor polished to civility; neither softened nor settled by good education or true religion: being full of levity, vulgarity, insatiate thirst and desire of novelties; their fruit also is little else but malice, cruelty, avarice, ambition, worldly policy, hypocrisy, superstition, looseness, and profaneness."† And the London ministers bitterly complain of their flocks that "they had lost their first love to godly ministers, Gospel ordinances, fastings, reading the Word, private and family prayers, and communion of saints; that they had grown censorious, heady, high-minded, treacherous, fierce, despisers of those that are good, and lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God; that duties to God and man were neglected, Sabbaths profaned, families badly governed."‡

* Baxter's *Confirmation and Restauration.*

† Gauden's *Hieraspistes*—Epistle to the Reader.

‡ *Vindication, &c., of Ministers and Elders of Provincial Assembly*

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Indeed, a different result could not have been expected, from the utter confusion of the times. There was no Church government to devise remedies for the prevalent abuses. The Westminster Assembly had almost ceased to act after the coercion of the Parliament, and when the Rump was dissolved, it expired with it. The Presbyterian discipline was not established in the country, and was everywhere checked and derided by the Independents and Sectaries. There does not appear to have been any attempt to supply a machinery for ordination and institution to livings during the Barebones Parliament. Vacant livings might be seized upon by any one who had sufficient audacity and fanaticism to induce the people to listen to him.* During this melancholy period there was an almost total cessation of the administration of the Lord's Supper in churches.† Even baptism had fallen into disuse, so much, that in one of the largest parishes of London not a single infant had been presented at

No Church government.

No ordination.

No administration of the Sacraments.

*of London*, p. 128. See Lathbury's *History of the Prayer Book*, p. 318, sq. Pierce's *New Discoverer Discovered*, p. 145.

* "Grave and godly bishops, with their learned Presbyters, must be set aside as broken vessels, that they may set up by popular and plebeian suffrages some miserable mechanics, some antick engines, some pitiful praters and parasites of the vulgar, who have had no higher breeding or degree in Church or State than that of poor tradesmen; their shop hath been their school, their hammers, or shuttles, or needles, their books."—Gauden's *Sighs and Tears, &c.*, p. 165. "I verily believe Ananias, the button-maker, Flash, the cobbler, do more harm to poor souls than your Presbyterian sermons do good."—Judge Jenkins' *Scourge for the Directory*, p. 4. See Yonge's *Life of Hugh Peters*, p. 84.

† Walton's *Life of Sanderson*, Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 451. Gauden's *Sighs and Tears, &c.*, pp. 55-56. Judge Jenkins' *Scourge for the Directory*, p. 3.

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the font for a year.* There was danger lest the Christian religion, in whose name this movement had begun, should be utterly lost and extinguished in the land.

A few ministers of the English Church still remaining.

Few and far between, contending constantly with the greatest difficulties and discouragements, there were yet ministers of the persecuted Church of England who still held their own. Some by their obscurity, or the friendly feeling of their neighbours, had escaped the imposition of the Covenant, and the tender mercies of the Committees. Some had thought themselves justified in taking the Covenant, considering that almost anything was to be endured sooner than leave an attached flock, "whose love, respect, and peaceable carriage in those times merited that the good of their souls should be preferred before any private advantages,"† but assuredly, as the same writer observes, "The ministers of the Church of England had now an harder part to act for their honour and wisdom than ever they had under any rulers professing to be Christian and reformed." Some of them, by mutilating the liturgy, omitting the parts which gave especial offence, and repeating without book, were able to preserve somewhat of the old religion amidst the dangerous novelties of the time. Thus did Sanderson at Boothby Pagnel, and George Bull at St. George's, near Bristol.‡ Thus, too, did Dr.

* Baillie's *Letters*, ii., 204.

† *Hieraspistes*, p. 9.

‡ See the lawfulness of this practice discussed in *The Case of the Liturgy*, Sanderson's *Works*, vol. v., (ed. 1854); also the letter from the *Tanner MSS.* (Thorndike's) given there. Dr. Ham-

Bernard, and Dr. Heylin, Bishop Duppa, and Bishop Rainbow; while, in London, Dr. Wild and Dr. Gunning kept up, at the greatest risk to themselves, the use of the liturgy in St. Gregory's Church. At Oxford, now the obsequious flatterer of its Chancellor Oliver Cromwell, Mr. Fell, son of the Dean of Christ Church, still read the forbidden prayers, and celebrated the proscribed Sacraments in a house opposite Merton College, and the diligent inquirer may find many other instances of the same courageous performance of duty.* The entries in the *Diary* of the noble-spirited John Evelyn, a true son of the Church of England, well illustrate the religious state of the period. "(March 5, 1649). I heard the Common Prayer (a rare thing in those days) in St. Peter's, at Paul's Wharf, London; † and in the morning, the Archbishop of Armagh, that pious person and learned

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Evelyn's *Diary*.

mond disapproved of Mr. Thorndike's letter, but he also condemned Sanderson's practice of mutilating the liturgy. Writing to Sheldon, he says, "He (Dr. Sanderson) may do well to consider whether, if from writing for the Engagement first, and then laying aside the liturgy, it will be easy to reconcile these to his former writings and persuasions." In another letter he says, "I pray you endeavour to infuse some courage into him, the want of which may betray his reason. His opinion expressed may betray many." *Harleian MSS.*, B. M., 6942. It seems difficult to decide between the opinions of these two eminent men.

* Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 433. Evelyn's *Diary*, ii., 162. Lathbury's *Hist. of Prayer Book*, 287, sq. "Dr. Owen allowed a society of Episcopalians to meet every Lord's day over against his own door, and to celebrate public worship according to the forms of the liturgy."—Thompson's *Life of Owen*, p. 51.

† This church was at one time violently attacked during Divine Service by a band of soldiers, and forty persons wounded. The minister was committed to prison. Walker's *Hist. of Independency*, ii., 253.

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man, in Lincoln's Inn Chapel. (1650.) I heard a sermon at the Rolls, and in the afternoon wandered to divers churches, the pulpits full of novices and novelties. (1652.) I went to Lewisham, where I heard an honest sermon on ii. Cor., v., 7, being the first Sunday I had been at church since my return, it being now a rare thing to find a priest of the Church of England in a parish pulpit, most of which were filled with Independents and fanatics. (1652. Christmas Day.) No sermon anywhere, no church being permitted to be open, so observed it at home. (1653.) At our own parish church a stranger preached. There was now and then an honest orthodox man got into the pulpit, and though the present incumbent was an Independent, he ordinarily preached sound doctrine, and was a peaceable man, which was an extraordinary felicity in this age. (October 11, 1653.) My child christened by Mr. Owen, in my library, at Saye's Court, where he afterwards churched my wife, I always making use of him on these occasions, because the parish minister durst not have officiated according to the form and usage of the Church of England, to which I always adhered."

English clergy in France.

Meantime, many of the more distinguished English clergy were in France following the fortunes of the exiled Royal family. There was Dr. Morley, afterwards Bishop of Winchester; Dr. Cosin, afterwards Bishop of Durham; Dr. Stewart, Dean of St. Paul's, the prolocutor in the late Convocation, and a man very highly esteemed by Charles I. There also were Dr. Earle, Dr. Clare, Dr. Wolley,

Dr. Lloyd, Dr. Duncan, Mr. Crowder, Mr. Hamilton, and the learned and energetic Bishop Bramhall.* It may well be supposed that they often had to suffer privations, as the King himself was sometimes reduced to the greatest straits; † but in this they fared no worse than their brethren in England. Other trials, however, they had to bear peculiar to themselves. The Queen, Henrietta Maria, an unscrupulous partisan of the Romish religion, hesitated not to use her influence with her English attendants to pervert them from the faith, and encouraged the solicitations of the Jesuits and others. Dr. Cosin had been appointed by the late King chaplain to the Protestant attendants of the Queen, and he discharged his difficult duty with the greatest zeal and skill. Constant attempts were made to induce him to change his religion, but without effect. On the contrary, he reclaimed many who were quite gone over to Popery, and confirmed many that were wavering. "He was the Atlas of the Protestant religion, whilst he remained in France," says Fuller.‡ Yet, in spite of all his care and vigilance, he had the great grief of seeing his son turn Papist. Of the English exiles, who were daily resorting to France, Dr. Cosin formed a congregation which worshipped first in a private house at Charenton, and afterwards in the chapel of Sir Richard Browne, ambassador

Dr. Cosin as chaplain.

* Evelyn's *Diary*, ii., 42.

† See the Clarendon letters to Sir R. Browne, published in Evelyn's *Diary*, vol. v.

‡ *Worthies* (Durham).

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from the Court of England and father-in-law of John Evelyn. Here he celebrated the rites of the oppressed Church of England, and, by his discretion and prudence, obtained and preserved great influence over the refugees.*

Devotional writings for members of the Church.

Other divines, secluded from exercising their ministry in public, were striving by their pens to preserve Christian truth and sound doctrine, and to turn the sharpness of the troubles into an occasion for impressing on the members of their Church greater devotion and holiness of life.† Of these, Jeremy Taylor and Hammond were the most untiring in their labours, devoting their great talents and influence with the members of the Church to this excellent work. Dr. Hammond was engaged in continual controversy with all the opponents of the Church, as well as in practical writings. He thus writes to Dr. Sheldon: "Mr. Owen hath written to me a very civil letter; he tells me that the whole weight of the Episcopal cause seems especially devolved on me, which particular I should be glad Dr. Sanderson, or you, or others, would confute; for the truth is, my appearing thus alone will go for little, and it is almost time for me to be weary, which yet I am unwilling to be while my labour may be useful." ‡

But no book, composed at this period, could

* *Cosin's Life*, prefixed to his works. Oxford, 1843.

† "Let all good sons of the Church go on in their duty, and when they can no longer preach to the ears of men let them preach to their eyes."—Bishop Duppa to Anthony Farindon. *Tanner MSS.*, 52, 207.

‡ *Harleian MSS.*, 6942.

Bishop Prideaux's *Euchologia.*

come with more touching pathos to suffering churchmen than the *Euchologia* of Dr. Prideaux, Bishop of Worcester. The learned writer of this devout book had for twenty-seven years filled the foremost place in the University of Oxford as Regius Professor of Divinity, and had been five times Vice-Chancellor. During all this time he had been specially distinguished for his moderation, and his opposition to the Laudian peculiarities. He had at one time incurred the displeasure of the King, but had been wisely selected by him, in the critical year 1641, as one of the most acceptable divines whom he could nominate for the vacant bishopric of Worcester. This dignity, however, brought him nothing but trouble and rebuke. He was plundered, and reduced to such great poverty, that he was obliged to sell all his books and furniture to procure bread for himself and his family. In 1650, he died, and bequeathed as his legacy to his daughters, the only treasure he had left—his pious counsel and instruction. The title of the work, in which this is conveyed, is "*Euchologia*, being a legacy to his daughters in private, directing to such manifold uses of our Common Prayer Book, as may satisfy upon all occasions, without looking after new lights from extemporal flashes." "By his learned works," says Nelson, "he was famous abroad as well as in his own country;" and though in his time he had often been stigmatised as a Puritan, yet he had to bear an equal share in the common persecution with the most

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extreme stickler for ceremonial and "innovations."* So universal and indiscriminating was the oppression which now weighed down the Church of England.

* Nelson's *Life of Bull*, p. 11. Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii., 78. Pierce's *New Discoverer Discovered*, p. 137.

# CHAPTER XXIII.



Religious anarchy—Appointment of the Triers—Strange method of examination—Directed against the Episcopalians—Subjects clergy to great delays and expense—Mr. Sadler's examination—Other grievances of the system—Its unpopularity—Commissioners for rejecting scandalous and ignorant ministers—Parliament dissatisfied with them—Inclined to take a strict view of the Sectaries—Cromwell displeased—Death of Selden—Usher's interview with Cromwell—The edict of 1655—Utter ruin of the clergy—Injustice of Cromwell's government—Its military power—Its immorality—Measures taken by the clergy to meet the persecution—Baxter's view of Church Government—Proposed by him to leading Church divines—His administration of his parish—State of practical religion at the period—George Bull at St. George's—Edward Pocock at Childry—Dr. John Owen—His disputes with Richard Baxter—Their views on Church Government compared—Independent confession of faith—Toleration—Denied to the worship of the Church of England—Increased severity against it—Distress of the clergy—Dr. Hammond's labours in the cause of the Church—Private ordinations—Bishops rapidly diminishing in number—Difficulty of providing for the succession—Danger to the clergy from their loyalty—Execution of Dr. Hewit—Death of Oliver no relief to the Church—Acts of the restored Long Parliament in favour of Presbyterianism—Change in the temper of the nation—Causes of it—Sense of Instability—Sense of the injustice done to the clergy—Fear for learning—Fear of Popery—Dislike of the Puritanical asceticism—Scandal at the immorality which abounded—Political reasons.

Chap. XXIII. 1654-60. Religious anarchy.

IT has been already said that from the time of the dissolution of the Long Parliament there was no attempt at Church government, nor any machinery provided for ordination and institution to livings. The Parliamentary committees which had been acting as censors of the clergy, and the Assembly of Divines which had professed to attend to ordination and appointments to benefices, had ceased to exist together, and for some time there was a complete anarchy in religious matters. This the Protector and his council now made an attempt to remedy. By an ordinance, passed March 20, 1654, it was stated "that for some time past no certain course had been established for the supplying vacant places with able and fit persons, whereby many weak, scandalous, Popish, and ill-affected persons had intruded themselves;" and it was, therefore, appointed "that every person who should, after the 25th of that instant (March) be presented, nominated, &c., to any benefice, or public settled lecture, in England or Wales, before he be admitted, shall be judged and approved, by the persons after named, to be a person for the grace of God in him, his holy and unblameable conversation, as also for his knowledge and utterance, able and fit to preach the Gospel." Then followed the names of thirty-seven Commissioners, with Francis Rouse, Esq., at their head, of whom five were empowered to approve, but not less than nine to reject. It was also provided, to cover the period of

anarchy, that this ordinance should have a retrospective power of a year, and that none who had succeeded to a benefice in that time should continue in it without the approval of the Commissioners.*

Appointment of the Triers.

These Commissioners were universally known by the name of *Triers*, and their appointment and instructions mark a very peculiar phase in the religious history of the country.

Strange method of examination.

That which had been proposed by the Barebones Convention is now actually made law. It is deliberately and gravely purposed to ascertain the presence of the grace of God in a man by his answers to certain questions, which were presumed to elicit the time and manner of what was termed his conversion. Testimonials of good life and unblameable conversation were indeed required to be signed by three "godly" persons, one of them a minister; but the main trial consisted in an examination conducted by the commissioners themselves, some specimens of which have been preserved to us to show us its character. Their decision was final and unquestionable. No writ of *quare impedit* could be taken out against it. Upon them the patronage of all the livings of England, in fact, devolved, and when it is remembered that the most active man among them was Hugh Peters, we may easily conceive the ordeal to which a respectable divine would be subjected before the Triers.†

* Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, i., 170.

† "They use all the ways they can to baffle him, two or three speaking at once to confound his memory, to invalid his answers.

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Directed against the Episcopalians.

It appears that after the abolition of the Covenant, some few of the deprived clergy had been reappointed to livings by patrons favourable to orthodox views,* and as these were ready to take the Engagement, which simply amounted to a declaration of an acquiescence, which was, in fact, necessary, it was difficult to find a pretext for keeping them back from preferment. One great object of the Triers was to find that pretext, and by their captious and fanatical questions, to endeavour to demonstrate that the grace of God could not reside in a *prelatical* divine. "They asked me," says one unfortunate candidate, "what acquaintance I had with Jesus Christ? That was, I thought, a captious question to entrap me. I answered as well as I could on the sudden, that I had communion with Jesus Christ by hearing, reading, meditating, and by prayer and the like. What work of grace (quoth Mr. Carter) hath God wrought upon your soul? I answered, I was born in sin, and God had been so gracious unto me, that he had discovered my sins unto me in the glass of the law, and his own mercies, and Christ's merits in the Gospel. Saith Mr. Carter, How can mercy and misery stand together? I answered, it was infinite mercy in God to accept of the merits of another. What particulars have you of God's dealing with you? quoth they. I know it, said I, by the spiritual combat betwixt the flesh and the

And if this will not do, then, after a long and strict examination, they bid him withdraw, and call for him no more."—Sadler's *Inquisitio Anglicana*, p. 1.

* Walker, ii., 171.

spirit. Quoth Cooper, How doth this spirit differ from a natural conscience?"—The result was, that this divine who describes himself as "no cavalier," but who had the misfortune to be an ordained clergyman of the Church of England, was, after *seven weeks'* attendance, sent back without institution.* Another nominee, after having spent fifty pounds in expenses of waiting and fees, was summoned, and asked to "tell the commissioners very precisely, in what year, in what month, in what day, and in what hour of the day, he had the secret call or motion of the Spirit, to undertake and labour in the ministry," and was rejected for a want of satisfactory definiteness.†

Subjects clergy to great delays and expense.

And even when the candidate under examination alleged evidences which might have been thought likely to be acceptable to the Triers; still, if he was one of the prelatical stamp, they easily found ways to dispose of him. Thus Mr. Sadler being asked for evidences of the work of grace in him, answered thus: "About thirty years ago (how old were you then? said Mr. Nye) I was in my secret devotion (he means private, said Mr. Nye, both interrupting and deriding me), I was kneeling and praying that God would give a certain evidence of his spirit, and show some token upon me for good, whereupon I heard as it were a voice saying, I have a blessing for thee: I will not fail thee nor forsake thee. (Nye) What! was it a voice? was it audible? (Sadler) Not in a vocal way; it was a

Mr. Sadler's examination.

* Sadler's *Inquisitio Anglicana*, p. 6.

† Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii., 172-8.

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motion. (Nye) Was it not a delusion as Eve's voice to Adam? (Commissioner) What is the breath of the soul? (Sadler) My longing and thirsting after God. (Commissioner) What is the heat? (Sadler) A zeal for God's glory, and my affection to him. (Commissioner) What is the sense of the soul? (Sadler) An apprehension of my indisposedness, and my sense of sin. (Commissioner) What is the action of the soul? (Sadler) The good works I do, as works of piety and charity. (Nye) This is all one, a thing studied. Here, they not hearing or not regarding what I said, nor suffering me to speak a word more, I was frowned upon and commanded to withdraw." At another examination he fared no better, and though no reason was alleged, his approval was refused.*

Other grievances of the system.

The system of examination pursued, the irresponsible nature of the tribunal, and the fact that ministers from every part of England, who sought institution, were obliged to attend at Whitehall, often for weeks together,† was a crying scandal, even if the charge be untrue, which is freely made, that none could pass the board without heavy bribes to the officials connected with it. No wonder, therefore, as Baxter writes, that "This Assembly of Triers was most heavily accused and

Its unpopularity.

* Sadler's *Inquisitio Anglicana*, p. 8, 14.

† It would appear from Baxter's words, quoted below, that the Triers sometimes referred the examinations of divines to ministers of eminence not in their own body. There are, however, numerous complaints in Walker, of divines from distant parts being obliged to wait their pleasure, and there does not appear anything in the commission of the Triers which could allow them legally to refer an examination to others.

reproached by some men,"* and though he himself offers some sort of an apology for them, yet his practice condemns his words, for "he refused to try any under them upon their reference, except a very few, whose importunity and necessity moved me (they being such, as for Episcopal judgment, or *some such cause*, the Triers were like to have rejected)." He admits too, that they were too particular in inquiring for evidences of sanctification in those they examined, and that they were partial in favour of Antinomians, Anabaptists, and Fifth-monarchy men.†

Commissioners for ejecting scandalous and ignorant ministers.

To supplement the work of this notable body, the Protector, by an ordinance of August 30, 1654, appointed commissioners in each county (eighteen or twenty, of whom five were a quorum) to eject scandalous, ignorant, or inefficient ministers and schoolmasters. Those were to be accounted *scandalous*, who had been guilty of any immorality, who had countenanced wakes, may-poles, and stage-plays, who used the Common Prayer, or showed any disaffection to the present government. Ignorance and insufficiency were to be left to the judgment of any five of the commissioners.‡

Parliament dissatisfied with them.

The Parliament, summoned by the Protector, showed itself extremely dissatisfied with this arrangement. "Monday, September 25, 1654. It was

* By none more perhaps than Mr. John Goodwin, an independent divine of *Arminian* principles, who reports that they made their own narrow Calvinist notions the door to all preferments.—See Goodwin's *Triers Tried*. Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 95-6.

† Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 72.

‡ Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 581. Walker's *Sufferings*, ii., 178.

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moved that the ordinance concerning the ejecting of scandalous and ignorant ministers, be taken into consideration, in regard that some of the powers were thought *unreasonable*, and the Commissioners named *very incompetent*."* "November 6. A bill was brought in for the ejecting scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters, and read the first time. It was moved that the former ordinance of the Lord Protector to the same purpose *be suspended*, but could not prevail."†

Inclined to take a strict view of the Sectaries.

This Parliament had, from its first meeting, shown a considerable spirit of independence, and, accordingly had been coerced and weeded, and was at last dissolved by the Protector. The religious provisoes in the instrument of government, which have been before quoted, were by no means acceptable to it. The members appear to have been desirous of exempting from toleration some of the sectarian opinions,‡ as well as "licentiousness,

* *Journal of Guibon Goddard, Esq., M.P. for King's Lynn*, p. 41. (Published in vol. i. of Burton's *Diary*, 1828.)

† Mr. Goddard's *Journal*, p. 62.

‡ "It was desired that the heresies should be enumerated, which, after another whole day's debate, was voted accordingly. Tuesday, 12, the enumeration of heresies was referred to a committee, and the debate of atheism, blasphemy, and profaneness taken up; which were conceived to be words of that general notion as might expose the godly party hereafter to some danger of suffering under those laws."—Goddard's *Journal*.

The committee appointed, summoned to their assistance certain divines, each nominating one. Among others, Richard Baxter was summoned by Lord Broghill. The divines were to draw up a paper containing the *fundamentals*—a difficult task at all times, and especially then. Baxter very wisely proposed that they should declare the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments to be fundamentals or essentials, without deter-

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Popery, and Prelacy." These latter, Cromwell could afford to despise; but the sectaries were still useful to him; hence, in the extraordinary tirade with which he dismissed the Parliament, we find him saying, "Those that were sound in the faith, how proper was it for them to labour for liberty—for a just liberty that men should not be trampled upon for their consciences. Had not they laboured but lately under the weight of persecutions, and was it fit for them to sit heavy upon others? Is it ingenuous to ask liberty, and not to give it? What greater hypocrisy than for those who were oppressed by the bishops to become the greatest oppressors themselves, as soon as their yoke was removed? I could wish that they who call for liberty now, also had not too much of that spirit if the power were in their hands." *

Cromwell displeased.

Death of Selden.

Before the hopes, which some of the friends of liberty had built upon this Parliament, were rudely dispelled, one of the oldest and most renowned champions of freedom of debate, had been removed by death. The great Selden, a man whom all his contemporaries agree to call a prodigy of learning,

mining further. This, however, did not please the Independent doctors, who declared that a Papist or Socinian might agree upon these terms. "If so," says Baxter, "so much the better; we must not make new laws so often as heretics will misinterpret and subscribe the old." He could not, however, get them to change their method; they drew up a paper of fundamentals. "And," says Baxter, "there was nothing left for me to do, but only to hinder them from doing harm and thrusting in their own opinions and crude conceits among our fundamentals."—Baxter's *Autobiography*, ii., 198, sq. See Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 88. Orme's *Life of Owen*, 149, sq.

* Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 596.

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died in November, 1654, in the faith of the Church of England; consoled in his last moments by the ministrations of Archbishop Usher, who also preached his funeral sermon at the Temple Church. Selden had been a leading member of all the Parliaments of Charles I., and had experienced some sharp attacks from the Government for his love of freedom. He had also tasted the discipline of the Court of High Commission for his *Treatise on Tithes*. In the Long Parliament and the Assembly of Divines he had been the scourge of the Presbyterian party, supporting his Erastian views with his great learning and biblical criticism, and assailing, with unsparing acuteness, the dogmatism of the divines.* He is one of that numerous body of great thinkers and deeply learned men, who have recorded a deliberate and emphatic testimony in favour of the surpassing value of the Christian Scriptures. He told the Primate of Ireland that he had his study full of books and papers on most subjects in the world, yet that none now seemed to him of any value, compared with that passage in the Epistle to Titus, which speaks of the grace of God, which bringeth salvation having appeared to all men, of the blessed hope of the

* "Selden, who owed no gratitude to the Episcopal Church, was, from the beginning of its dangers, a steady and active friend. He sat in the Assembly of Divines, and, by his great knowledge of the ancient language and of ecclesiastical antiquities, as well as by his sound logic and calm, clear judgment, obtained an undeniable superiority which he took no pains to conceal."—Hallam.

Christian, and the glorious appearing of Jesus Christ.* Chap. XXIII. 1654-60.

Another visit the good Archbishop was called upon at this time to make, from which he could not have derived the same satisfaction as from his last interview with the great Christian scholar. Cromwell, in one of the phases of his tortuous policy, for a moment thought it worth his while to appear to honour some of the divines of the Church of England. His first Parliament was too Presbyterian to please him; it was well to show them that the persecuted Church might yet be raised up on the footing of a universal toleration—a notion the most likely, of all others, to appal the Presbyterian mind. Thus Brownrigg, Bishop of Exeter, and Dr. Bernard, Dean of Kilmore, were favoured by him with marks of respect, and Archbishop Usher was summoned to an interview, wherein Cromwell talked vaguely of the promotion of the Protestant religion at home and abroad.† Usher's interviews with Cromwell.

The Protector, however, soon showed what his real views on toleration, and the promotion of the Protestant religion, were. Irritated by some royalist movements in the country, he determined to make the Church which upheld the exiled family suffer for the disquiet in which he lived; and, on November 24, 1655, issued a Declaration, which surpassed all the other acts of these troublous times in intolerance and cruelty. By this it was provided The edict of 1655.

* Elrington's *Life of Usher*, p. 272. Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 590.

† Elrington's *Usher*, p. 271.

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that no person, after January 1, 1656, should keep in their houses and families, as chaplains or schoolmasters* for the education of their children, any sequestered or ejected minister, fellow of a college, or schoolmaster, nor permit any of their children to be taught by such, upon pain of being proceeded against. And that no person who hath been sequestered or ejected out of any benefice, college, or schools, for delinquency or scandal, should from and after the said January 1, keep any school, either public or private, nor preach in any public place, or at any private meeting, of any other persons than those of his own family; nor administer Baptism or the Lord's Supper, or marry any persons, or use the Book of Common Prayer, or the forms of prayer therein contained, upon pain that every person so offending, in any of the premises, shall be proceeded against," &c.†

* A very large number of the ejected clergy were thus provided for. The public seminaries being in the hands of Puritans, the gentry of the land found it necessary to educate their children privately. In Dr. Hammond's letters to Sheldon, preserved in the British Museum, we find him constantly employed in providing tutors and chaplains, and sometimes in much difficulty to find a fit man, so great was the demand.

† Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, i., 194. Neal, the great apologist for Cromwell's religious policy, says, "This was a severe and terrible order on the Episcopalians, and unjustifiable in itself." —*Puritans*, iv., 122. Dr. Gauden, much to his honour, addressed a *Petitionary Remonstrance* to the Lord Protector against this cruel edict, in which he says, "Since God saw fit to confute the secular confidences of the clergy, and to teach them higher wisdom by affliction, they have only behaved themselves as humble and silent sufferers, patiently enduring, and devoutly undone; not bitterly querulous, nor pragmatically perturbing the public tranquillity; living in ways, many of them (though very able and

Utter ruin of the clergy.

This was to close up every avenue of support to the persecuted clergy, and to drive them forth from every shelter with the mere recklessness of wanton cruelty. Usher, on the passing of this edict, again sought the presence of the Lord Protector to remonstrate, and though he could effect nothing for his oppressed brethren, he had, nevertheless, the satisfaction of delivering a bold protest against the spirit which prompted such persecuting measures.* "This day," writes John Evelyn, in his *Diary*, "came forth the Protector's edict or proclamation prohibiting all ministers of the Church

ample men), as little to be envied as much to be pitied, taking great pains for small gain, contented with such poor pittances as are the refuse of others lately their inferiors, but now possessed of their livings, out of which they hardly allowed to their sequestered brethren their miserable fifths. Yet, after all these meritorious miseries so moderately endured, after the noises and tumult of war so much allayed, after an Act of Oblivion happily passed, after these poor ministers had gained some little plank or rafter, possibly a little refuse living, or a curateship, or a school, or a lecture, or some chaplain's place in a gentleman's house, by which to save themselves from utter shipwreck and sinking, yet still (beyond any rank of men of the same pretensions) they are now alarmed afresh, exposed to new conflictings with that armed man; brought, not to the Tarpeian Rock, whence, by a sudden precipitation, an end might be put to all their miseries with their lives, but like Prometheus, they are bound alive with fatal chains to the Mountain Caucasus, where, condemned to be idle, the vulture of a famine and all worldly calamities must be for ever preying upon the bowels of themselves, their wives, and their children, being only suffered to survive their miseries as men hung aloft in chains, and forced, with their relations, either to beg, steal, or starve."—Gauden's *Petitionary Remonstrance*, p. 4. "There was, as I hear," says Bishop Duppa, "some petitions offered in this kind, but it was to no more purpose than if the mariners in a storm should petition the winds and the waves."—*Tanner MSS.*, 52, 108.

* Elrington's *Usher*, p. 274.

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of England from preaching or teaching any schools, in which he imitated the apostate Julian." "I went to London, where Dr. Wild preached the funeral sermon of preaching, this being the last day, after which Cromwell's proclamation was to take place, that none of the Church of England should dare either to preach or administer sacraments, teach schools, &c., on pain of imprisonment or exile. So this was the mournfullest day that in my life I had seen, or the Church of England herself since the Reformation, to the great rejoicing of both Papist and Presbyter."* Of this rigid severity there was no relaxation until the Restoration. Whatever schemes of toleration were vented for sectaries, "Popery and Prelacy" were always exempted, and the latter term was interpreted to mean all those who were loyal to the Church of England. In the Protector's views of government, indeed, considerations of justice as such had no place.† Each of the kinds of tyrannical oppression

* Evelyn's *Diary*, ii., 107.

† Neal thus describes the Protector's *principles:* "One of his principles was called a particular faith—that is, if anything was strongly impressed upon his mind in prayer, he apprehended it came immediately from God, and was a rule of action. Upon this maxim he is said to have suffered the late King to be put to death, in an arbitrary and illegal manner. Another maxim was that in extraordinary cases something extraordinary, or beyond the common rules of justice, may be done that the *moral laws*, which are binding in ordinary cases, may then be dispensed with; and that private justice must give way to public necessity, which was the Protector's governing principle in all his unwarrantable stretches of power. A third principle by which the Protector was misled, was his determining the goodness of a cause by its success.....It is impossible that a man's conduct could be uniform or rational that was directed by such imaginary principles."—Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 173.

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Injustice of Cromwell's government.

so loudly complained of under Charles I., were repeated under Cromwell.* Parliaments were coerced and menaced, members punished for freedom of speech, and the Assemblies when unpalatable abruptly dissolved. Money was raised without the consent of the nation, punishments inflicted without laws, and public officers required to be absolutely subservient on pain of dismissal. Even the hideous cruelties of the Star Chamber were exactly repeated, and a crazy fanatic, named James Naylor, was sentenced to be set four hours in the pillory, whipped from Westminster to the old Exchange, his tongue bored through with a red-hot iron, and his forehead branded with the letter B.† Six pretended witches were hanged at Maidstone.‡ John Biddle was imprisoned for his Socinian books, and the old oppressions of the Papists thrown into the shade by the confiscation of two-thirds of their estates for public purposes. The exactions of the Protector's satraps, the Major-Generals settled in the country districts, were intolerable,§ and the unfortunate man who had thrust himself into the foremost place in the State passed his time vexed, harassed, and per-

* "It had ended in a despotism, compared to which all the illegal practices of former kings—all which had cost Charles his life and his crown—appeared as dust in the balance."—Hallam's *Constitutional History*, i., 660.

† Burton's *Diary*, i., p. 154. Whitelocke, p. 644. Kennett, iii., 197. It was only carried by a narrow majority in Parliament that he should not be put to death.

‡ Burton, i., 26.

§ As if there were not already enough Commissioners for dealing with the unfortunate clergy, the Major-Generals had also the power of ejecting any minister whom they considered scandalous, ignorant, or malignant.

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plexed by the constant conspiracies of all parties against his arbitrary rule. He made a feeble attempt to surround himself with the bulwarks of hereditary monarchy and a House of Lords, but his government throughout only reposed on the army, and even this had to be constantly watched and carefully weeded, lest it should turn upon its favourite Imperator. In military matters, indeed, Cromwell had a great genius, and a wonderful instinct; and, above all, he was well served. This made his Government to be respected and courted abroad as much as it was hated and feared at home.* To the civil historian judging Governments more by results than principles, the energy and success of the Protectorate often mark it out as one of the brightest periods of our history; but where there is a fundamental lack of sound principle, and a manifest immorality in the governing power, those who undertake to consider public affairs in their religious aspect, must not be led away by glittering effects from stigmatizing the unjust cause. It is not a question of title, or the mere fact that the Protector had stepped into the first place by a dexterous usurpation, and stained with the blood of the King. Like many another tyrant, he might have redeemed his usurpation by clemency and justice in his rule.† But his administration was a thoroughly immoral one; a deifying of expediency, and a wor-

Its military power.

Its immorality.

* Sir P. Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 385.

† "He never showed any sign of a legislative mind, or any desire to fix his renown upon that noblest basis, the amelioration of social institutions."—Hallam.

ship of success, wherein justice was accidental, and equity for mere politic ends. * Religion had degenerated into a corrupt fanaticism, and the public men, who passed whole days together in seeking God, were blind to the first principles of their duty to their neighbour.

Measures taken by the clergy to meet the persecution.

Under the pressure of the rigorous persecution which now affected the Church of England, it became necessary for the more influential clergy to use every available means for preventing the utter annihilation of the Church. Very interesting details of the measures taken are preserved in the letters of Bishop Duppa, Drs. Sheldon and Hammond, hitherto unpublished, and but little known. At Richmond, where the Bishop of London resided, the chief divines of the Church met, to endeavour (in the words of Bishop Duppa) "that though the Church be stript of all her outward helps and ornaments, yet there may be a being left her." † Very important projects were there discussed. Dr. Hammond thus writes to Dr. Sheldon:—"Your presence will be very useful at Richmond, where some of our ecclesiastical affairs are now afoot, and by what I hear, concerning a report made to the Bishop of London by Dr. Jeremy Taylor concerning the clergy's sense to have the *Common Prayer taken off, and some other forms made*, I cannot but wish you

* "I perceived," says Baxter, "that it was Cromwell's intention to do good in the main, *except in those particulars which his interest was against*. And it was the principal means that henceforward he trusted for his own establishment, even by doing good." —*Autobiog.*, p. 71.

† *Tanner MSS.*, 52, 41.

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were there to interpose your judgment and authority. I heard also from the Bishop of Sarum this week, who much depends upon your coming, and Dr. Henchman, who is by him solicited to come up, is, I think, likely to meet you."* At these Richmond meetings it was, in fact, determined that in view of the dangers which menaced those who ventured to use the Common Prayer, the ministers still faithful to the Church might be dispensed from using it, and might adopt another form. To provide a suitable form for the purpose was the object of Jeremy Taylor in drawing up the collection of offices, to be found in his works. In the Preface to them he says, "Some did think that it might not be amiss that some of the ancient forms of other churches and of the prayers of Scripture should be drawn together and laid before them that need, and although these prayers have no authority to give them power, yet they have been, as to the matter of them, approved by persons of great learning and great piety, and they no way do violence to authority, and therefore the use of them cannot be insecure." † Soon after this, we find Hammond, in a letter to Sheldon, inquiring, "Have any of the bishops consented, or expressed their opinions favourable to the public use of the *new liturgy* in place of the old?" ‡

Baxter's plan of Church government.

Richard Baxter thought that he perceived in the principle of voluntary association, a remedy for all the evils which affected the religious state of the

* *Harleian MSS.*, 6942. † Taylor's *Works*, viii., 573.
‡ *Harleian MSS.*, 6942.

country, and that moderate men of all kinds of views, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Independents might combine on the broad basis of Christian zeal, and thus become a law to themselves. This plan appears to have been worked with considerable success in the neighbourhood of his parish of Kidderminster. He acknowledges indeed that none of the stricter Episcopalians, nor Presbyterians, nor Independents, joined themselves to the society, but there appears to have been among the neighbouring ministers a considerable number of what Baxter calls "mere Catholics, men of no faction, not siding with any party, but owning that which was good in all as far as they could discern it, and upon a concord in so much laying out themselves for the great ends of their ministry, the people's edification." These men formed an association of about twenty members, which met once a month under the presidency of one of their number, for disputation, conference, and mutual assistance. They had arranged to enforce in their flocks so much discipline as Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Independents were all agreed upon, and to induce the people in their parishes to subscribe to an undertaking that they would accept this discipline. Baxter supposed that sufficient Church government might be obtained by these monthly synods, and the decisions and animadversions of the president. He held that each pastor should have an absolute control in his own parish, and that each should be free to use Common Prayer, Directory, or any other method

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Proposed by him to leading Church divines.

of worship, subscribe or decline the Articles as he thought fit.*

This plan, which, abandoning uniformity as impossible, strove to compass a unity by intentions and common purposes, Baxter proposed to Dr. Brownrigg, Dr. Hammond, and other influential Church divines. It was adopted in the county of Essex, and an account of it published under the title of the *Agreement of the Associated Ministers of the County of Essex*. These ministers declared their conviction that the religious differences which prevailed, arose "not so much from principles inconsistent with union, as from defect of will and inclination," and they supposed that union might be arrived at by the means proposed by Baxter. Yet the plan was an obviously chimerical one. In giving up formal, and relying only on spiritual unity, it did not make sufficient allowance for the heats and distractions which will affect even Apostolic men on matters of so dear a value as the truths of the Gospel. One member alone of a difficult temper and argumentative turn, might suffice to mar the efficiency of the meetings, and the principle of "agreeing to differ," has never been found to produce earnestness of action nor fixedness of purpose.†

* Baxter's *Autobiography*, pp. 90, 91, 139, sq., 172, 208, &c.

† "If these associations do only intend, as some of them pretend, to take in all interests, with reservation of latitudes and freedoms, both of different principles and practices to all sorts of ministers, will they not prove at last dissociating, and amount to no higher edifying of the Church than the laying of brick and sand without lime, which will never make a durable and strong building? For they will soon divide and dissolve, who are held

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His administration of his parish.

Baxter was happier in his administration of his own parish, than in his schemes for the general government of the Church. If his account is to be fully taken, never perhaps were greater religious effects produced in so unpromising a soil as he describes Kidderminster to have been. His account of his labours is extremely interesting. He preached on Sundays and Thursdays, and on the Thursday evenings had a meeting of his congregation at his house, where one of them repeated the sermon, and the others proposed any doubts or queries which they might desire to have satisfied. To this was added an exercise of their abilities in praying (in the same way that is now practised at the Wesleyan prayer-meetings), and for the younger people there was a smaller meeting of the same sort on Saturday evenings. Every few weeks they had a day of humiliation, and two days each week were spent by Mr. Baxter and his assistant in privately catechizing and instructing their parishioners, family by family.* Yet with all this, he says his writings were his chief labour, and his parochial charge rather his recreation. The result of this earnest work was, that the congregations were

together by no other bond than their own will and pleasure."—Gauden's *Sighs and Tears*, &c., p. 439.

* "We spend Monday and Tuesday from morning to almost night, in the work, taking about fifteen or sixteen families in a week, that we may go through the parish, which hath above eight hundred families, in a year. At the delivery of the catechisms, I take a catalogue of the persons of understanding in the parish; and the clerk goeth a week before to every family, to tell them when to come, and at what hour."—Baxter's *Reformed Pastor*, Preface.

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overflowing; that on the Lord's Days the whole population was occupied in religious exercises; there were six hundred communicants, among whom there were not twelve of whom their pastor had not good hopes, and no divisions or dissensions, no Antinomians or Anabaptists, to be found in the whole town.*

State of practical religion at the period.

With these results before his eyes, it is not to be wondered at that Baxter should maintain, as he does, that the period of the Protectorate was not one of irreligion—an assertion, which is strongly contradicted by others, perhaps more competent to take a fair general view. "On Sunday afternoons," says Evelyn, "I frequently stayed at home to catechize and instruct my family, those exercises universally ceasing in the parish churches, so that people had no principles, and grew very ignorant of even the common points of Christianity, all devotion being now placed in hearing sermons, and in discourses of speculative and national things."† Dr. Owen, the great Independent divine, thus speaks: "What now by the lust of men is the state of things? Say some, there is no Gospel at all. Some make a religion a colour for one thing, some for another.....Things being carried on as if it were the care of men that there might be no trouble in the world, but that the name of religion might lie in the bottom of it."‡

* Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 83, sq. Baxter's *Reformed Pastor*, chap. vi.

† Evelyn's *Diary* (1655), vol. ii., 105.

‡ Orme's *Life of Owen*, p. 141.

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George Bull at St. George's.

But there were other divines similar in spirit, if not in principles, to the laborious pastor of Kidderminster, who could congratulate themselves on kindred results. At the early age of twenty-one, George Bull was presented to the living of Easton-in-Gordano, and though a staunch loyalist, suffered to hold it, as no Puritan considered the small stipend of £30 a year worth the having. This parish abounded with Quakers and other wild sectaries, and every house was stored with Antinomian books, but Bull, by his plain and practical teaching, and his constant attention to his work, was able to abate much of the evil. His parishioners became exceedingly attached to him, so that on one occasion, when a Quaker interrupted him in his sermon, and bid him come down as a false prophet and a hireling, the rough seamen fell upon him, and Bull had great difficulty in saving him from their hands. Like Baxter, Bull went regularly through his parish from house to house, catechizing and teaching his people, and "suiting his discourse to the several exigencies of those he conversed with.....By this means he became acquainted with the state of their souls, and was thereby the better enabled to suit his discourses in public to the several wants and grievances of his people." When he found any of his flock had been led away to error, he inquired who were their seducers, and sent them a challenge to argue upon the point before the person who had been convinced by them. These challenges were usually accepted, as Mr. Bull was young, and it was thought might be easily silenced, but the

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genius which in after years produced the *Defence of the Nicene Creed* proved too strong for the Ranters and Quakers, and, says his biographer, "by these conferences he had very great success in recovering his wandering sheep." His method of conducting public worship by repeating the Church prayers by heart has already been mentioned. By this innocent stratagem he gained the commendation of "praying by the Spirit" from some of those who held the Common Prayer to be "a beggarly element, and a carnal performance." Every year he went to Oxford to use the public libraries, and on his way was wont to stop at Cirencester, where he found the incumbent of a like spirit with himself, and usually preached for him. To the daughter of this gentleman he was afterwards married, the ceremony being performed by the Vicar of Preston according to the form of the Book of Common Prayer, though it was then forbidden under a great penalty. He afterwards obtained the living of Suddington, near Cirencester, which he kept till the Restoration.*

Edward Pocock at Childry.

A man far more distinguished at that time than Bull, but of a somewhat similar spirit and character, was the famous Edward Pocock, the first occupant of Laud's chair of Arabic at Oxford, and Rector of Childry, at no great distance from the University. Pocock was accustomed to use as much of the Common Prayer in his ministrations as he considered safe, and to check as much as possible the prevailing fanaticism. He was soon, therefore,

* Nelson's *Life of Bull*, p. 25, sq.

summoned to appear before the Berkshire Commissioners who sat at Abingdon, and under Cromwell's ordinance for ejecting scandalous and ignorant ministers, occupied themselves with purging out the small remainder of the orthodox clergy of the Church of England. Pocock defended himself with skill and spirit. He showed that he had not used the Book of Common Prayer in such a way as to offend against the letter of the ordinance, he showed that his life was free from scandal, and his ministry from any just reproach. The Commissioners, finding that the charge could not be sustained, but not liking to suffer a man of his views to escape them (especially as his living was a good one),* then turned to the point of his competent knowledge and efficiency, and were actually about to eject the first scholar in Europe for ignorance and incompetency. As the absurdity of such a proceeding would have covered their government with too intense a ridicule, Dr. Owen, the Independent Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, hastened to the Commissioners to tell them of their folly, and they were reluctantly compelled to abandon their prey. Thus Pocock was left to his learned labours, and the reputation of Dr. Owen, as a liberal-minded man, was greatly enhanced.†

Dr. John Owen.

Owen is probably as fair a specimen of the Independent divine of the period as we could select, and appears to have acted in his exceptional and

* See Goddard's *Diary*, p. 103.

† Twell's *Life of Pocock*, pp. 151-176. Orme's *Life of Owen*, p. 154.

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difficult position at Oxford with moderation and good sense. Owing everything to Cromwell, his favourite preacher and spiritual adviser, he yet had sufficient spirit to join in the protest against his assumption of the title of king, and lost his favour and the Oxford Vice-Chancellorship in consequence.

His diputes with Richard Baxter.

Between him and Richard Baxter there raged an interminable strife upon nice and subtle points of theology; such, for instance, as whether the death of Christ was a payment of the exact thing which by law ought to have been paid, or of something held by God to be equivalent,* but the two disputants were not unlike in spirit, in learning, and in earnestness. Owen was more of a Calvinist,† as were generally the Independent doctors, with the exception of John Goodwin; but though Baxter condemns the Independent system with such vehemence, his own project for Church government given above, had many points of similarity. He desired that each parochial church should govern itself with the same freedom from foreign encroachment as the Independents claimed for their "gathered" congregrations. He would unite the various churches in a bond of voluntary union as the Independents also desired to do, only in this union he would allow a greater variety of creed, than they thought compatible with joint action. In Baxter's view, Congregationalist, Presbyterian,

Their views on Church government compared.

* Orme's *Life of Owen*, p. 121.

† "At first I was greatly inclined to go with the highest in controversies, *de providentiâ et gratiâ*, but now I can easily see what to say against both extremes."—Baxter's *Autobiog.*, p. 130.

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Baptist, Episcopalian, might be *comprehended* in one church; in the Independent view, these different bodies might be *tolerated*, but no formal union was to be attempted, save between those who could unite in one confession of faith.

Independent confession of faith.

What that confession of faith should be for the congregationalist churches, it was now the great object of the Independent divines to settle. For this purpose, a general meeting of deputies, from all their churches, was summoned to be held at the Savoy, in September, 1658. The Independent churches in New England had already (1648) agreed to the doctrinal part of the Confession drawn up by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, substituting their own views on Church government in place of the Presbyterian platform, and this was in effect very much the same result as that at which the Savoy Meeting arrived.*

Toleration.

But their Confession is honourably distinguished from that of the Westminster Assembly, in that it is set forth with a preface (written by Dr. Owen) which states in the fullest and most unreserved manner the great doctrine of toleration. They assert "that all professing Christians, with their errors that are purely spiritual, and intrench and overthrow not civil society, are to be borne with and permitted to

* Baxter is very severe on this Confession: "They thought it not enough to contradict St. James, but they must contradict St. Paul also. And not only so, but they also asserted a doctrine abhorred by all the Reformed and Christian Churches, and which would be an utter shame to the Christian name, if what such men held and did were indeed imputable to the sober Protestants." —Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 104.

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enjoy all ordinances and privileges according to their light, as fully as any of their brethren who pretend to the greatest orthodoxy." The credit of first promulgating this great doctrine as the confession of a body of Christians, may be allowed to the Independents, without detracting from the honour of the Church of England in having first furnished teachers and advocates of it. To Hales, Chillingworth, but especially to Jeremy Taylor, belongs the glory of having first advocated toleration; to the Independents that of having first put it forward as a system.*

Denied to worship of the Church of England.

On these principles, it would seem to be impossible that license could be consistently refused to the worship of the Church of England, though its claims to be the National Established Church, as well as the similar claims of the Presbyterian, might, with consistency, be opposed by the Independent. Yet it would seem that in proportion as the doctrine of toleration became more fashionable, the afflictions of the persecuted Church only increased, and more bitter and determined was the hostility displayed against it. At the end of 1657,† Evelyn writes in his *Diary*, "I went to London with my wife to cele-

* Orme's *Life of Owen*, p. 237. Unfortunately, the history of the Independents in New England, where a persecuting system prevailed, somewhat detracts from this credit.—Baillie's *Letters*, ii., 177.

† "About this time, Jeremy Taylor thus writes to Sheldon: "I suppose we shall be suppressed before the Parliament shall sit. We are every day threatened, we are fiercely petitioned against by the Presbyterians, we are agitated at the council table, only we yet go on, and shall, till we can go on no longer."—*Tanner MSS.*, 52, 216.

brate Christmas-day: Mr. Gunning preaching on Micah, vii., verse 2. Sermon ended, as he was giving us the Holy Sacrament, the chapel was surrounded with soldiers, and all the communicants and assembly surprised and kept prisoners by them, some in the house, others carried away. In the afternoon came Colonel Whalley, Goffe, and others from Whitehall, to examine us one by one; some they committed to the Marshall, some to prison. When I came before them, they took my name and abode, examined me why, contrary to an ordinance made that none should any longer observe the superstitious time of the Nativity (so esteemed by them), I durst offend, and particularly be at Common Prayers, which, they told me, was but the Mass in English.....Finding no colour to detain me, they dismissed me with much pity of my ignorance. These were men of high flight and above ordinances, and spake spiteful things of our Lord's Nativity. As we went up to receive the Sacrament, the miscreants held their muskets against us as if they would have shot us at the altar, but yet suffering us to finish the office of Communion, as perhaps not having instructions what to do in case they found us in that action." *

Increased severity against it.

The exercise of their office being thus ruthlessly denied to all the clergy who had not accepted the Protector's government, while at the same time they were neither suffered to be schoolmasters nor to reside in private houses as chaplains, the greatest poverty and distress began, as might be

Distress of the clergy.

* Evelyn's *Diary*, ii., 126-7.

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expected, to prevail among them. Evelyn tells us that a collection was now made among the orthodox laity for their suffering and almost starving ministers, many of whom were in prison without any means of support, while private fasts were kept among the devout to supplicate the removal of the judgments which oppressed the Church.*

Dr. Hammond's labours in the cause of the Church.

To the work of relieving his suffering brethren in the ministry, the noble-hearted Henry Hammond gave himself with a true Christian zeal. He proposed to Dr. Sheldon, a divine also conspicuous for his liberality, and to Dr. Henchman, that they should each of them make themselves responsible for £200 a year for the indigent clergy abroad. Besides this, he made collections and gave much assistance to those at home, "whose wants," he says, "give them a great nearness to me." Ever laborious at his writings, and supplying most useful and well-timed instruction to the faithful, Hammond yet saw clearly that in these critical times something more than mere instruction was needed. "The truth is," he writes, "unless some care be otherwise taken to maintain the communion of our Church, it is to little purpose that any write in defence of it, it will soon be destroyed." †

This consideration suggested to him the scheme

* Evelyn's *Diary*, ii., 133, 142. These statements of Evelyn's seem plainly to contradict Burnet's assertion: "Cromwell began, in his latter days, to be gentler towards those of the Church of England. They had their meetings in several places about London without any disturbance from him."—*Own Time*, p. 44.

† Letters from Hammond to Sheldon.—*Harleian MSS.*, 6942.

of another charitable work. "Seeing," says his biographer, "that the ancient stock of clergymen were in a manner rendered useless, and the Church was, at best, like the Roman state in its first beginning, '*Res unius ætatis, populus vivorum*'—a nation of persons hastening to their graves, who must in a few years be wasted—he projected, therefore, by pensions to hopeful persons in either University, to maintain a seminary of youth, instituted in piety and learning upon the sober principles and old establishment of the Anglican Church. In his instructions to them whom he employed in this affair, he gave in charge carefully to seek out such as were piously inclined, and to prefer that qualification before unsanctified good parts, adding this as a certain maxim that exemplary virtue must restore the Church."* A few of the bishops still lived undisturbed in England, and were ready to confer orders in secret, and with caution, upon promising young men. Thus Dr. Skinner, Bishop of Oxford, who lived at Launton, ordained George Bull, though he would not give him letters of orders until the Restoration; and a Mr. Le Franc is mentioned by Evelyn as having been ordained by the Bishop of Meath.† Bishop Duppa frequently ordained "young loyal Church scholars, among whom was the late exemplary primate, Arch-

Private ordinations.

* Fell's *Life of Hammond.*

† Nelson's *Life of Bull,* p. 22. Evelyn's *Diary,* ii., 111. "I paid," says Evelyn, "the fees to his lordship, who was very poor and in great want, to that necessity were our clergy reduced."

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bishop Tenison, as I have heard from his own mouth."*

Bishops rapidly diminishing in number.

But there was even a danger lest the superior order itself should perish, or at any rate be reduced so low, as to give the Papists the opportunity of inventing another "Nag's Head Fable."

Difficulty of providing for the succession.

To avoid this was the object of the thought and care of Sir Edward Hyde, and his trusted agent in England, John Barwick, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's. But very great difficulties stood in the way of the consecration of new bishops. First, as to the form, *congés d'élire* could not be granted, for there were no deans and chapters to elect. To suppose a *lapse* in their election, and to appoint simply by the King's prerogative, was considered dangerous, as implying that the chapters elected *pleno jure*, and not *facultate regiâ*. An expedient proposed, was to consecrate the new bishops, to vacate Irish sees, where *congés d'élire* are not used, and afterwards to translate them. This, Bishop Wren, in whose judgment Sir Edward Hyde and the King had the greatest confidence, strongly opposed, and it was then proposed for the King to issue a general commission to the bishops of each province, to consecrate such and such persons to such and such sees, with certain dispensative clauses inserted in the commission made necessary by the present emergency. But when the difficulties of form were removed, those proceeding from the individuals selected were still pressing. It was a dangerous post, with no prospect of gain

* Kennett's *Register*.

or dignity, and some of those proposed were weighed down with years, or encumbered with the cares of a large family. So many and various were the difficulties in the way, that Sir Edward Hyde writes to Barwick in despair: "I am ashamed of mentioning the business of the Church to his Majesty, who is as much troubled and ashamed that there should be no more care taken of it by those, whose part it is, when he hath done all he can.....It would be very good news if I could hear of my Lord of Ely's being in full liberty. The truth is, I have little hope of the business of the Church but by his being at liberty." The Restoration, however, which followed in a few months after this letter, happily removed all difficulties.*

Danger to the clergy from their loyalty.

The clergy who had taken the engagement to be faithful to the Protector's government were able to eke out a precarious subsistence amidst much suspicion and reproach, but for the great majority of them who were steady in their loyalty to the royal family, there appeared absolutely no hope. Should they venture anything for the cause which was so dear to them, the Protector was so well served by spies and informers, that their discovery and punishment were almost certain. The execution of Dr. Hewit, who had been minister of the small church of St. Gregory's, for his share in the loyalist risings of 1658, showed

Execution of Dr. Hewit.

* The letters which passed between Sir E. Hyde and Barwick on this subject, are printed in Bishop Kennett's *Register*, and in the Appendix to *Barwick's Life*.

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them that Cromwell was not inclined to spare those whom his policy had driven to desperation. Dr. Hewit was well known to, and much esteemed by Cromwell's own family. He had performed the marriage ceremony for Lord Fauconbridge and the Protector's daughter, and the Lady Elizabeth Claypole, it is said, took his execution so much to heart, that it cost her her life.* If this were so, the death of Dr. Hewit exercised also an influence over Cromwell's own fate, for it is well known that his grief for the loss of his favourite daughter, combined with the diseased state of his constitution to bring on the attack which terminated fatally on September 3, 1658.

Death of Oliver no relief to the Church.

But the death of Oliver brought no relief to the persecuted clergy of the Church of England. Richard, the new Protector, as far as he had any religious opinions,† was inclined to Presbyterianism, and the Parliament which was summoned at his installation, showed a decided bias in that direction. For the clergy of the Episcopal Church this was scarcely to be accounted a gain. And when this Parliament was dissolved by the influence of the army, and the members of the Rump again summoned, it was still the same cuckoo cry of toleration, except "licentiousness, Popery and Prelacy," that is to say, a tender regard for every wild

* Kennett's *Complete History*, iii., 213.

† "Esprit dégagé, incertain et timide, sans conviction comme sans passion religieux ou politique," is the philosophical estimate of M. Guizot.—*Histoire du Protectorat du Richard Cromwell*, i., 5. An admirably lucid account of the complicated history of the time is given in this able work.

Antinomian sect, but none for the time-honoured worship of the Church of England. The Parliament was again coerced by Lambert and the army. The feeble Richard had resigned, and the government was for a moment in the hands of a council of officers. Then the cautious General Monk began his measures, which issued in the recalling of the secluded members of the Long Parliament, the subjection of the army to it, and a brief interval of free action of the old Assembly. Of this power of free acting it took advantage, to show its zeal for the Presbyterian scheme. It accepted the Confession of faith which had been drawn up by the Assembly of Divines,* ordered the Solemn League and Covenant to be hung up in the churches, expelled Dr. Owen from Christ Church, and replaced Dr. Reynolds, and for a moment flattered itself that it was approaching the halcyon days of a triumphant Presbyterianism.†

Acts of the restored Long Parliament in favour of Presbyterianism.

But the effete Long Parliament was constrained to decree its own dissolution, and to summon another Assembly, and now the nation showed itself to be thoroughly wearied of all the factions. Many royalists and Church of England men were returned to the House of Commons, and Parliament had no sooner met, than both Houses eagerly

Change in the temper of the nation.

* "The confirming of the Assembly's Confession, which this day brings the news of, is an impertinency that I looked not for, and what will be next, I divine not."—Hammond to Sheldon, *Harleian MSS.*, 6942.

† Kennett's *Complete History*, iii., 219. Price's *Mystery of the Restoration*, Masere's *Select Tracts*, i., 777.

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voted for the Restoration of the legitimate King.*

Fanaticism was now to be thrown down from its place of influence and power, and both the evil and the good which was in it to be made to cease. That state of society where the loudest and most grotesque religious profession carries the highest reward, must needs be one of strange contradictions, but yet not necessarily of unmixed badness. But whatever good there was in the prevailing enthusiasm, this had no elements of stability in it, and must of necessity soon exhaust and destroy itself. It is but a short step from unreasonable excitement to infidel depravity. Justice, meekness, humility, charity, cannot be contemned with impunity. The doctrines that the end justifies the means, that success is a proof of the Divine acceptance of a cause lead straight to the most hideous consequences, and the religious language of the ambitious men of that time did not essentially differ from the classical jargon which accompanied the excesses of the French Revolution.† It was the consciousness of the instability of all things connected with religion, and the spectacle of continual changes, which brought the national mind to desire the return to the ancient and tried

Causes of it. Sense of instability.

* Clarendon's *Hist. of the Rebellion*, p. 885. Baker's *Chronicle*, 634—710. Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 57 (ed. 1838). Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 104. Guizot's *Protectorat du Richard Cromwell*, p. 202, &c.

† "Lambert est fort décrié pour n'avoir point de religion ni apparence en quoi il differe seulement de la pluparte d'entre eux."—Bourdeaux to Mazarin. See Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 52 (ed. 1838).

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system which had been so rashly discarded. Presbyterianism might seem to some to offer a more efficient discipline, independency to provide more scope for individual fancies and particular tastes, but the faith, worship, and organization of the Church of England was old, known, and approved, and offered a quiet shelter, to which vexed and harassed spirits might happily retreat.

Sense of the injustice done to the clergy.

Besides this, there was the knowledge of the gross and long-continued injustice by which a large body of men, many of them eminent for their piety and learning, were denied their lawful subsistence, persecuted, imprisoned, and oppressed, for adhering to a system which had been adopted by the national will, enforced by the law of the land, and ratified by solemn oaths. Wherever there was a clergyman of the Church of England bearing patiently a deprivation of his office and emoluments, which had overtaken him, not for any scandal or neglect of his own, but merely from the change of views in the governing body, there was a strong argument for a reaction against a crying injustice.*

Fear for learning.

Again, in the prevalence of fanaticism, all wise men must have seen a serious danger for the very existence of learning.† Under the auspices of some

* "If it be a fault, surely it is a very pardonable one, for a man in the change of times to remain unchanged in his mind and opinion, and to hold to his former, and, as he thinks, well-grounded principles, so long as he cannot apprehend any reason of sufficient strength to convince his understanding that he is in the wrong." —Bp. Sanderson. Preface to *Sermons*, 1657.

† Even as early as the beginning of the Westminster Assembly, they had a long debate whether they should require the knowledge of Latin and Greek in a minister.—Lightfoot's *Journal*, p. 30.

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of the Presbyterian and Independent divines, men seemed likely to return to the theological dogmatism and endless hair-splitting of the schoolmen of the dark ages. Cromwell, indeed, is said by his apologists to have been disposed to favour learning, but the ground on which this claim is based is a slender one. He is lauded for having given twenty-four manuscripts and an annuity of £100 a year to the University which had elected him Chancellor;* and for having allowed the paper for Dr. Brian Walton's Polyglott Bible to be imported free of duty.† Such trifling benefactions do not contradict the evidence of all his life, that he was rather a man of action than thought. Literary labours were not likely to find a very considerate patron in one who could neither write nor speak intelligibly;‡ and though he knew how to quote the Bible fluently, yet the exegesis which he fa-

* Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 588. Neal's *Puritans*.

† Twells's *Life of Pocock*, p. 209. Orme's *Life of Owen*, p. 268. Kennett's *Complete History*, iii., p. 197.

The great work of the Polyglott Bible was begun in 1653 by Dr. Brian Walton, assisted by Mr. Herbert Thorndike, Mr. Pocock, Archbishop Usher, Dr. Lightfoot, Dr. Castell, and other scholars, and finished in 1658. It was the first English work published by subscription, and it is no small glory to the Church of England that at such a time, and under such circumstances, so great a work should have been completed by divines of her communion. "The glory," says Dr. Twells, "of that age, and of the English Church and nation, a work vastly exceeding all former attempts of that kind, and that came so near perfection, as to discourage all future ones."—*Life of Pocock*, p. 220. See Todd's *Life of Walton*.

‡ "He never could shake off the roughness of his education and temper. He spake always long and very ungracefully."—Burnett's *Own Time*, p. 52, ed. 1838.

voured was rather the direct illumination of the Seekers than the judicious labours of learned men. In the wild collapse of all authority which followed his death, all the institutions of the country were threatened; the Anabaptists had almost procured the extinction of tithes, and they were equally hostile to the Universities. What wonder if even men indifferent on religious grounds, desired the Church of Usher, of Pocock, and of Hammond, rather than the tabernacle of Hugh Peters, or even the academical chair of Dr. Owen? *

Fear of Popery.

In view also of that troublous seething of religious opinions, the apprehension expressed by Dr. Sanderson in 1657 was, we may be sure, shared by many. "I may not dissemble," says he, "what my own fears have long been and yet are. That if things shall still go on according as they have begun and hitherto proceeded, the application that some have made of that passage, 'The Romans shall come and take away our nation,' will prove but too true a prophecy, and Popery will overrun all at the last." † Men could not but remember

* Dr. Owen, as the leading man of the Independents, seemed to consider it necessary to write against everybody. Among other things, he wrote against the Polyglott Bible, holding the strange notion that it was a sin even to imagine vatieties of readings in the sacred MS. In his treatise he made numerous absurd blunders, and was severely handled by Dr. Walton. (*The Considerator Considered*, &c.) Mr. Orme, Owen's biographer, is quite at a loss how to get him out of this affair with credit. Mr. Thompson (his latest biographer) admits with great candour Dr. Owen's absurd conduct in this matter.—Thompson's *Life of Owen*, p. 75.

† Sanderson's *Works*, ii., 52; Edition, Oxford, 1854. So also Baxter: "The Church of Christ among us is brought into

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the great army of controversialists against the errors of Rome, which the Church of the English Reformation had produced, and how even the hated Laud had written learnedly and forcibly against the Jesuit Fisher. As long as the outward unity was unbroken, and the disputant had the support of the national Church behind him, there was great assistance to the theological conflict; but, now, every man's hand was against his fellow, and while Protestants of different views wrangled with concentrated passion, the great enemy might get an advantage not easily to be wrested from him.

Dislike of the Puritanical asceticism.

There was, too, a popular and powerful motive to induce the nation to desire the restoration of the English Church. That Church had never shown itself an irrational enemy of amusement, nor striven, by a ridiculous over-legislation, to repress the natural gaiety of the young and light-hearted. Indeed, in the promulgation of the edict for Sports on the Sunday, its error had probably been on the other side. But the various Parliaments of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, and the edicts of the Councils of State, had attempted an uncompromising rigour against sports, games, and recreations, against morris-dancers, May-poles, and stage-plays. These they had confounded with drunkenness, swearing, and adultery, and had treated in their legislation amusement as essentially immoral. Hence, in a great measure, the burst of joy with

so torn and endangered a condition, that we are in no small danger of falling all into the hands of the common adversary."—Preface to *Reformed Pastor;* and Gauden's *Sighs and Tears*, &c., p. 63.

which the Restoration was received, and hence also the fearful reaction towards licentiousness which the unnatural repression produced.

Scandal at the immorality which abounded.

It is usual to confine this reaction to the time of the Restoration, and to stigmatise that period as one of a viciousness altogether exceptional. But though vice and profligacy were at that time more audaciously displayed, and perhaps more universally prevalent than before, it is certain that long before the termination of the Rebellion-era, morality was at a fearfully low ebb, and the most atrocious profligacy abounded.* Hence the more sober-minded of all opinions, even some of the Presbyterians, desired the restoration of the Church discipline, which at any rate had shown itself able to repress and restrain the open scandals and crimes.†

Political reasons.

It is not, however, to be denied, that political reasons may have been the chief incitement towards a desire to return to the ancient order of things. In the long confusions of the civil wars, the arbi-

* "We have heard of families raised upon the ruins of others, and of families ruined by perjurious criminations. We have seen and heard of more evils and confusions than the hour of a sermon or the length of a history can enumerate. If sins, if sorrows, if shame, if fear, if dangers, if frensies, if divided minds, if disjointed hearts..... be symptoms of a sick body, certainly this great college of physicians hath a very sick patient to look after."—Dr. Reynolds's *Sermon before Parliament of* 1660. See Gauden's *Sighs and Tears*, &c., book iv., chap. i.

† See the *Exhortation of the London Ministers*, 1660. Price's *Mystery of the Restoration*. "Some few of the Presbyterians by beholding the calamities of the Church and their own errors had been converted to a better esteem of Episcopacy."—Price, Masere's *Select Tracts*, i., 776. See also Clarendon's *State Papers*, iii., 705. *The Interest of England Stated*, in *Select Tracts*, i., 686.

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trary acts of the late King's government had been swallowed up and forgotten, and from a new and untried young man, who was prodigal in fair words, the utmost was to be expected. Again every form of tyranny had been experienced under the change of *régime*, and a recurrence to the old family could bring nothing worse with it than had been known under Cromwell and the Rump. This even the wildest sectaries began to feel. The Anabaptists presented an address to the young King, desiring his return.* Even some of the fanatical officers of the army began to mutter if there was to be a government by a single person, why should not that person be Charles Stuart.† It is certain that never any great national event took place, for which the people was more completely ripe than the King's Restoration. At the very first mention and thought of the possibility of it, a transport of joy seized the nation. As soon as a Parliament had met, which was believed to be essentially royalist, the streets began to resound with ballads against the Republicans, Cromwellians, and Sectaries; insults were offered to any that were personally known; the churches of the Anabaptists

* "Thus do we fly like partridges hunted from hill to hill, and mountain to mountain, but can find no rest; we look this way and that way, but there is none to save, none to deliver. At last we begun to whisper among ourselves, saying one to another, Why should we not return to our first husband, surely it will be better with us then than it is now."—*Anabaptist's Address.* Clarendon's *Rebellion*, p. 855.

† Price's *Mystery of the Restoration.* See a very able tract supposed to be written by Mr. John Fell, called *The Interest of England Stated.*

were ravaged, and their meetings dispersed, and none of the men prominent in the late troubles could venture into public without danger of their lives.* By a long and rough instruction, the nation had learnt a lesson it would not soon forget, and had fully recovered from the religious madness which had possessed it, when in the first outburst of its suddenly acquired power, it dealt its indiscriminate blows of vengeance on the clergy, whom it reckoned among its oppressors.

* Guizot's *Richard Cromwell*, ii., 208.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

Chap. XXIV. 1660.

Uncertainty and excitement in the country—Loyal party publish a soothing declaration—Death of Dr. Hammond—Tactics of the Presbyterians—Their impolitic bigotry—Show a more yielding temper—Uncertain prospects of the Non-conforming party—Baxter's conferences with the Church divines—Unpopularity of the Presbyterians—They abandon the work of the Westminster Assembly—Some of them made King's chaplains—Their requests to the King—King treats their requests favourably—Their proposals formally stated—Character of their proposals—Churchmen draw back—Character of their reply—Baxter's rejoinder—Pacificatory measures—The proposal for toleration—Comprehension and toleration—The King's declaration—The declaration not *bonâ-fide*—Further proof of insincerity—King not for comprehension but toleration—Real intentions of the government soon perceived—Restoration of the old incumbents who had survived—Restoration of Church lands—The surviving bishops—The new bishops—Sanderson made Bishop of Lincoln; Morley of Worcester; Sheldon of London; Cosin of Durham; Walton of Chester; Gauden of Exeter—Monk of Hereford; Reynolds of Norwich—Dr. Henry Byam—Feelings of the restored clergy—Some of them deteriorated in character—The great body learned and pious—Difficulties in the way of the Church—Character of the King—Licentiousness of the Times—Value of practical writings of Churchmen.

Uncertainty and excitement in the country.

THE beginning of the year 1660 was a time of fearful excitement in England. Men's hearts, long agitated by uncertainty and perplexed by change, were earnestly longing for something stable and fixed, and for the most part saw the hope of this

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nowhere but in the King's Restoration. But no man could say how that Restoration was to be brought about. The Parliament was enacting ordinances religious and civil, as if it contemplated a long continuance of its present power. General Monk, reserved, dark, unfathomable, let none into the secret designs which he was cherishing, and covered his projects with an unscrupulous dissimulation. The army was agitated and uneasy. Lambert had still partisans there, and the power of the sectaries was still strong. Gradually, however, as the General hastened the dissolution of the Long Parliament, and as the constituencies returned one after another Royalist members for the new assembly, the mists began a little to disperse, and men felt that the King would return, but on what conditions and by whose agency was still uncertain.

Some of the Episcopal clergy, with a zeal beyond discretion, began to give open expression to their hopes. Dr. Griffith preaching at Mercer's Chapel, on March 25, spoke so palpably in the old strain, on the fear of God and the King, that he was committed to prison, and Sir E. Hyde, writing to Dr. Barwick, severely condemns such indiscretions as very hurtful to the royal cause.*

Loyal party publish a soothing declaration.

The party most deeply compromised in the late troubles, endeavoured to represent the royalists as unchangeable and implacable, and to excite the country against them, but this charge was well and seasonably met by a "*Declaration* of the nobility,

* Kennett's *Register*, pp. 96-7.

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gentry and clergy, that adhered to the late King, in and about the City of London," in which they say, "we do sincerely profess that we do reflect upon our past sufferings as from the hands of God, and therefore do not cherish any violent thoughts or inclinations to those who have been any way instrumental in them. And if the indiscretion of any spirited persons transports them to any expressions contrary to this our sense, we utterly disclaim them."* This declaration had a considerable effect in tranquillising the minds of many, and to it were affixed on the part of the clergy, the influential names of George Morley, Thomas Warmistry, Philip King, and Jeremy Taylor.

Death of Dr. Hammond.

It was at this moment, when hope was again dawning on the long-persecuted Church, that one of its brightest ornaments and most eminent sons, Henry Hammond, was cut off by an untimely death. No man had done more in upholding the Church during the rebellion than Hammond, who by his piety and learning had secured the respect of those who most disliked his principles, and by his frequent and seasonable writings had been the general instructor of the orthodox during their deprivation of their ordinary pastors. Designed by a just selection for the Bishoprick of Worcester, he did not live to reach the highest dignity of the Church, which he so much loved and so ably served, but

* Kennett's *Register*, p. 121. In a similar spirit, writes Dr. Edward Martin, at this time, who had been for eighteen years an exile and a sufferer: "I hope we shall have in England a general resurrection of all in the graves of captivity and exile, though *not* a general judgment for every one to receive, according to his works."—Kennett, p. 117.

his labours and the records of his piety will not perish.*

Tactics of the Presbyterians.

As soon as the leaders of the Presbyterian party saw the King's return become probable, they skilfully endeavoured to bind him to the terms to which his father had agreed in the Isle of Wight, and on these conditions, themselves to become instrumental in restoring him. For this purpose, a deputation of their chief men waited on Charles at Brussels, and offered their services on these terms, representing them as the most favourable which the King could hope for. General Monk, now the most powerful man in the country, was described as a determined republican and Presbyterian, and one who would never consent to the restoration of the ancient state of things as it had been before the civil war.† Charles, however, who had already secretly been informed by Monk, through Sir John Grenville, that he would bring about his Restoration without conditions, declined to accept the Presbyterian proposals.‡ Baffled in this, they endeavoured to induce the new Parliament, which met full of loyalty on April 25, to impose condi-

* He died at the house of Sir John Pakington, April 25, 1660, the very day the Parliament met, aged 55 years, and was buried in the chancel of Hampton Church, near Westwood, with the full service of the Church of England. (Kennett's *Register*, p. 123.) "I must say," says R. Baxter, "I took the death of Dr. Hammond (who died just when the King came in, but before he saw him, or received his intended advancement) for a very great loss, for his piety and wisdom would have hindered much of the violence which after followed."—*Life*, p. 208.

† Kennett's *Register*, p. 68, 90, &c.

‡ Price's *Mystery of the Restoration*, in Masere's *Select Tracts*, i., 789. Clarendon's *State Papers*, iii., 705, 716, 723, 729.

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tions for the King's return, similar to those to which the late King had been reluctantly driven to consent. Here, too, they were foiled by the dexterity of Monk, who wished to make his services as valuable as possible.* The Parliament despatched commissioners to bring back the King at once and unconditionally, but with these the Presbyterians, still hopeful that something might be able done for their party, sent a body of their most divines, who were to endeavour to extract a promise from the young King, of value to their cause.†

Their impolitic bigotry.

But, if we are to accept Lord Clarendon's account, these divines acted in a way very unlikely to conciliate the King towards them, and instead of seeking concessions for themselves, sought rather to impose restrictions upon him.‡ Having declared themselves no enemies to moderate episcopacy, only desiring that in the worship of God, things considered by some as indifferent, by others as unlawful, might not be pressed upon them, they proceeded to

* "This was indeed the great service that Monk did. It was chiefly owing to the post he was in, and the credit he had gained .....To the King's coming in without conditions, may be well imputed all the errors of his reign."—Burnett's *Own Time*. It is to be feared, however, that any conditions which were afterwards found inconvenient, would have been lightly broken.

† "Dr. Reynolds, Mr. Calamy, Dr. Spoistre, Mr. Case, Mr. Manton, were received privately in his bedchamber. They delivered a letter signed by above eighty ministers met at Sion College. They expressed much satisfaction at his Majesty's carriage towards them."—James Sharp to Mr. Douglas, Stephens's *Life of Sharp*, p. 48.

‡ The ministers of Edinburgh wrote him a letter, "humbly putting him in mind of his Covenant, and expecting protection in their establishment, and that he will settle God's House in all his dominions according to God's Word."—Kennett's *Register, p.* 140.

request the King not to allow the use of the Book of Common Prayer, or the wearing of the surplice in his chapel on his first landing in England. "The King," says Clarendon, "told them with some warmth, that whilst he gave them liberty, he would not have his own taken from him."*

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As matters, however, rapidly proceeded, and the unconditional restoration of the King drew nearer, the Presbyterians, the whole of whose preferment was at stake, became more complying. Dr. Morley, who was employed in England by Sir E. Hyde, to conciliate them,† writes, on May 4:—"I have reason to hope that they will be persuaded to admit of, and submit to Episcopal government, and to the practice of the liturgy in public, so they may be permitted before and after their sermons, and upon occasional emergencies, to use such arbitrary forms as they themselves shall think fit, without mixing of anything prejudicial to the government of the Church and State as they shall be settled.....I

Show a more yielding temper.

* Clarendon, *Rebellion*, p. 909. The Scottish ministers write to the Earls of Crawford and Lauderdale, preparing to go over to the King. "We are sensible how he hath been necessitate to make use of the Service-book abroad, which, if it shall be set up at his return, your lordships know what may be the consequence."—Kennett's *Register*, p. 140.

† His employment was a general care of the interests of the Church at this juncture. Sir E. Hyde writes to Barwick, "I am heartily glad Dr. Morley is with you, whom you will find a very worthy and discreet person, and fit to keep you company in allaying the too much heat and distemper which some of our friends are, in this unseasonable conjuncture, very much accused of; insomuch as this last post hath brought over three or four complaints unto the King of the very unskilful passion and distemper of some of our divines in their late sermons."—Kennett's *Register*, p. 97.

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foresee the main difficulty will be touching their ordination by Presbyters without bishops, which we cannot acknowledge to be lawful, nor will they, I am afraid, be brought to acknowledge to be unlawful, and much less to be mere nullities."*

Uncertain prospects of the non-conforming party.

But everything must have seemed exceedingly dark, doubtful, and uncertain to those who were striving to make good terms for themselves, without the foundation of an actual conformity to the Church of England. At the Parliament's first meeting, Presbyterian preachers had been joined with moderate Episcopalians in the exercises of the Fast day, but, on May 10, appointed as a thanksgiving day for the happy settlement now in full progress, the lords attended service at Westminster Abbey, when the unwonted sight was seen of a clergyman "in his formalities," using the long-proscribed service of the Common Prayer Book.† The sermon was preached by Mr. Buck, Vicar of Stradbrook, who exhorted the lords as soon as the King "reposed in his regalities, to show themselves munificent patrons and providers for the church, and the *reverend fathers* and very learned ministers thereof, that be supervivors to the manifold suffer-

* Clarendon *State Papers*, iii., 738, 743. Kennett's *Register*, p. 96, &c. Mr. Sharp, the agent of the Scotch Presbyterians in London, thus writes to Mr. Douglas:—"There are endeavours for an accommodation between the moderate Episcopal party and the Presbyterians.....I see not full ground of hope that covenant terms will be rigidly stuck to." Kennett's *Register*, p. 110. In another letter he writes, "I smell that moderate episcopacy is the fairest accommodation which moderate men, who wish well to religion, expect."—Kennett, p. 118.

† This was not in continual use at the Abbey for some time

Baxter's conferences with the Church divines.

ings and injuries which have been illegally inflicted upon them these twenty years by-past."*

On the same day, Mr. Baxter preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at St. Paul's, claiming the merit of the King's return for the party which the Cavaliers scoffed at, and demanding moderation in their success, and that allowance should be made for those who differed in religious matters. Moderate men, said the preacher, might be easily accommodated by mutual concessions. A short time before this, preaching before Parliament on the Fast-day, the same divine had declared that he himself and Bishop Usher had been able to settle terms of agreement in the course of half an hour.† These expressions attracted much attention, and several of the moderate Episcopal divines went to Baxter to inquire the particulars of the agreement of which he spoke. At one of these meetings, Baxter told Dr. Gauden that, for the *doctrinal part* of the Prayer Book, there was nothing to which he could not assent. ‡ It was arranged that he should meet Dr. Morley, who seemed in a position of more authority than other divines, but with his interview with him, Baxter appears to have been dissatisfied. He complains that he talked of moderation in the general, but would come to no particular terms, which, indeed, must have been all that it was possible for him to do at this juncture.

afterwards. "No Common Prayer yet in Westminster Abbey," writes Samuel Pepys, in his *Diary*, July 4, 1660.

* Kennett's *Register*, p. 143.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 126, 142.

‡ Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 218.

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Unpopularity of the Presbyterians.

It was galling, doubtless, to the Presbyterians, who appear to have quite persuaded themselves for a moment that they were to be the agents in bringing back the King on their own conditions, but day by day it must have become more evident to them that, in the midst of the joy of the nation and their own unpopularity, they were in no situation to impose terms, and were by no means sure of that moderation being exercised towards them which they themselves had entirely repudiated in their own conduct. "I know very few," writes James Sharp, on May 29, "or *none* who desire it (Presbyterianism) much less appear for it, and whoever do report to you, or believe that there is a considerable party in England who have a mind for Covenant uniformity, they are mistaken."* Again, "From any observation I can make, I find the Presbyterian cause wholly given up and lost. The influencing men of the Presbyterian judgment are content with Episcopacy on Bishop Usher's model, and a liturgy somewhat corrected, with the ceremonies of surplice, cross in baptism, kneeling at the communion, if they be not imposed by a canon *sub pænâ aut culpâ*. And for the Assembly's Confession, I am afraid they will yield it to be set to the door; and that the Articles of the Church of England, with some amendments, take place. The moderate Episcopalians and Presbyterians fear that either the high Episcopal men be uppermost, or that the Erastians carry it from both. As for those they call rigid Presbyterians, there are but few of

* Stephens's *Life of Sharp*, p. 49.

them, and those only to be found in the province of London and Lancashire, who will be inconsiderable to the rest of the nation. A knowing minister told me this day, that if a synod should be called by the plurality of incumbents, they would infallibly carry Episcopacy. There are many nominal, *few real Presbyterians*."† Doubtless these remarks of a shrewd observer are pretty fairly descriptive of the state of feeling at the King's return, and the leading men among the Presbyterian ministers began to perceive that their prospects were not encouraging.

They abandon the work of the Westminster Assembly.

At a meeting of the London ministers at Sion College, it was decided not to petition Parliament for the maintenance of the Confession, Directory, and form of Church-government of the Westminster Assembly, thus virtually abandoning that for which they had so long contended; and though some few Presbyterians still thought that the King would give them some special mark of favour for their proceedings in his Restoration, yet the more keen-sighted saw that their cause was lost. "The more politic men of the diocesan way," says Baxter, "understood that upon the King's return all the laws that had been made in nineteen years—viz., since his father's departing from the Parliament—were void; and so that all ancient power, and honour, and revenues would fall to them without any more ado, and that they had nothing more to do but to keep the ministers and people in quiet-

* Stephens's *Life of Sharp*, p. 52.

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ness and hopes, till time should fully do the work." *

Some of them made King's chaplains.

To feed these hopes and amuse the Presbyterians, it was determined by the King's advisers to make some of their chief divines the King's chaplains in ordinary; and, accordingly, Calamy, Reynolds, Ash, Spurstow, Wallis, Bates, Manton, Case, and Baxter received this promotion.† Some of these were called upon to preach before the Court, and all of them were thus enabled to have an easy access to the King, and to present any petitions or remonstrances they might deem expedient for the common good.

Their requests to the King.

Of this they took advantage to recommend to his serious consideration the desirableness of the union of all his subjects in religious matters, and that it was now a most happy juncture for effecting this. They begged that "only things necessary might be insisted on as terms of union; that the true exercise of Church discipline might be allowed; and that the faithful ministers who would exercise it might

* Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 229. "All sober men," writes Mr. Sharp, on June 5, "depend more upon the King's moderation and condescentions than what can be expected from others. The Episcopalians drive so furiously, that all lovers of religion are awakened to look about them."—Kennett's *Register*, p. 175.

† Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 139. It is not, of course, strictly correct to class Richard Baxter with the Presbyterians, or indeed with any particular body. He was far more liberal in his views than the Presbyterian party, and objected to the Covenant and their scheme of Church government. At this time, however, he acted with them, being especially desirous of comprehension. "I told them they knew I meddled not as a Presbyterian, but as a Christian that is obliged to seek the Church's peace."—Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 259.

not be cast out, nor unworthy men obtruded upon the people." * They were not unwilling that in all the cases of sequestrations, where the old incumbent was still living, he should be restored to his rights, provided he had not been deprived on the ground of immorality, but they prayed that all those who had succeeded *scandalous* ministers might be continued in their benefices.† This last request, though it had a specious sound, was clearly an unfair one. It was well known that the *scandals* alleged had, in most cases, been assumed rather than proved, and that partisanship with the King in the civil war (called *delinquency*), and even the use of the Common Prayer when forbidden by ordinance, were accounted as scandals.

Obviously, the only fair course was the immediate restoration of their preferments to all the old incumbents who had not been disabled by any legal sentence from holding them, and though "many hundreds of worthy ministers were thus displaced,"‡ yet the thing was simply one of the evils necessarily following from the late troubles.§ This question, it should be observed, had no necessary connection

* Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 140.

† *Ibid.*, i., 142-3.

‡ *Ibid.* Mr. Sharp says, "Above a thousand in the country and Universities will be ejected."—Kennett's *Register*, p. 178.

§ It was conceded that for the present all incumbents who had succeeded to sequestered livings where the old possessors were *dead*, should be undisturbed, notwithstanding any informality in the presentation or institution. This was, doubtless, thought too favourable treatment of "the fanatics" by some of the loyalist clergy. In the State Paper Office are preserved petitions of some of these latter for benefices to be granted to them, on no other ground than because the present holder "was a fanatic."

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with the conditions of conformity, and the retention in the Church of those Presbyterian or Independent ministers who had succeeded to benefices actually vacant.

King treats their requests favourably.

The requests of the Presbyterian divines were favourably received by the King, who declared himself sincerely desirous of an agreement and anxious to promote it. He told them, however, that they must expect to have to make considerable concessions, and desired them to draw up a paper specifying those to which they would agree. Having modestly premised that they were not in a position to speak for their brethren, that they were but few and had no commission, they agreed to do this, on the understanding that the Church divines should, on their part, specify the concessions to which they were ready to submit.*

Their proposals formally stated.

Upon this, the leading Presbyterian ministers met from day to day at Sion College, and in about three weeks' time agreed to a paper of proposals, chiefly drawn up by Mr. Calamy, Dr. Reynolds, and Dr. Worth, in which, after an humble address to his Majesty and four preliminary requests, viz., "That serious godliness might be countenanced; a learned and pious minister in each parish encouraged; a personal public owning the baptismal covenant precede an admission to the Lord's table; and that the Lord's Day might be strictly sanctified. They offer to allow of the true ancient primitive presidency in the Church, with a due mixture of Presbyters, in order to the avoiding the corruptions,

* Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 140. Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 231.

partiality, tyranny, and other evils which are incident to the administration of a single person. The things which they principally blamed in the English frame were the great extent of the bishops' dioceses; their deputing commissaries, chancellors, and officials to act in their stead; their assuming the sole power of ordination and jurisdiction; and acting so arbitrarily in visitation articles; bringing in new ceremonies and suspending ministers at pleasure. And for reforming these evils, they propose that Bishop Usher's *Reduction of Episcopacy into the form of synodical government received in the ancient church*,* should be the groundwork of an accommodation, and that suffragans should be chosen by the respective synods; the associations to be of a moderate extent, the ministers to be under no oaths or promises of obedience to their bishops, as being responsible for any transgression of the law; and that the bishops govern not by will and pleasure, but according to rules, canons, and constitutions, that should be ratified and established by Act of Parliament. As to the Liturgy, they owned the lawfulness of a prescribed form of worship; but desired that some learned, pious, and moderate divines of both sides might be employed either to compile a new liturgy or to reform the old, adding some other varying forms in Scripture phrase, to be used at the minister's choice. As to the ceremonies, they humbly represented that the worship of God was perfect without them; that God hath declared himself in matters of worship a jealous God; that the reformed

* See Appendix C.

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churches abroad, most of them, rejected the ceremonies which were retained here; that here in England, they had ever since the Reformation been matter of contention and dispute; that they had occasioned the silencing of many pious and useful ministers, and given rise to many separations from the Church; that they were, at best, but indifferent, and in their own nature mutable, and, therefore, they begged that kneeling at the Lord's Supper might not be imposed, and that the surplice and the cross in baptism, and the bowing at the name of Jesus rather than Christ or Emanuel, might be abolished; and that care might be taken to prevent future innovations contrary to law, that so the public worship might be free not only from blame but suspicion." *

Character of their proposals.

It will not fail to strike any impartial reader of these proposals that, under a show of candour and a specious desire for concord, every one of the points on which Puritans had been contending with Churchmen ever since the Reformation, are asked to be conceded. Under the colour of what was called Bishop Usher's scheme,† but which, as has been shown above, was by no means the true exposition of that great man's views on Church government, an essentially Presbyterian government is demanded.‡ Acknowledging a Liturgy to be

* Calamy's *Baxter*, pp. 141-2.

† "There was a faction which called this offer of Bishop Usher's Episcopacy by the name of *The Presbyterians impudent expectations*."—Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 232.

* This is, in fact, allowed by the London ministers. They thus write to their friends in Scotland: "No course seemed likely

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lawful, they yet desire the virtual abolition of one which the majority of the nation loved and reverenced; and without alleging any argument against the ceremonies, save their own scrupulousness, they demand that they shall no longer be imposed. Such a tone and temper at such a moment was unfortunate in every way.* It was not to be expected that in the hour of their triumph and return to peace and honour after long years of undeserved obloquy and persecution, churchmen could receive with complaisance a demand from the men who had unjustly spoiled them to concede the very points for which they had suffered. It was known, too, that the Presbyterian party in Parliament had, before the King's return, appointed a committee to devise such a scheme of Church government as might either totally exclude bishops or make them little superior to the rest of the clergy.† The old antagonism was, therefore, only revived and strengthened by the proposals of the Presbyterians.

Churchmen draw back.

It had been promised them by the King that the Church divines should, on their part, specify the

to us to secure religion but by making Presbytery a part of the public establishment, *which* will not be effected but by moderating and reducing Episcopacy to the form of synodical government." Kennett's *Register*, p. 228.

* The ministers of Edinburgh write to Mr. Sharp: "We suppose it is not a desperate work humbly to deal with his Majesty, who is so excellent and moderate a prince for preventing of Episcopacy and the Liturgy, which by experience they have found so bitter and prejudicial to themselves and many others in England."—Kennett's *Register*, p. 176.

† Clarendon's *Life*, Works, p. 1034. Edition 1843.

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concessions to which they would agree. Naturally enough, however, in the face of these requirements of their opponents, they drew back, and preferred to stand upon their legal position, unimpaired as it was by the informal acts of the Long Parliament;* and in place of a conciliatory paper holding out the olive branch, they sent "a biting answer, by way of reflection on the paper of proposals which had been made to his Majesty."† In this answer "they declare as to the preliminary requests, that they don't perceive any further security can be given than is provided by the law of the land already established. As for private religious liberty, that they are free to it, so a gap be not opened for sectaries for private conventicles, for the consequences of which none can be responsible to the State. That they are for a godly minister in each parish, but know not what further provision can be made for it. As for Confirmation and the keeping scandalous persons from the Communion, they thought the Church had sufficiently provided; and as for the observation of the Lord's day, they declare the laws of the land were stricter than the laws of any foreign reformed Church whatsoever. As to Church government, they declare for the

* "The English lawyers have given in papers to show that the bishops have not been outed by law. The cloud is more dark than was apprehended. The Presbyterians are like to be ground between two millstones."—Sharp to Douglas. Kennett's *Register*, p. 200.

† Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 143. Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 236. Collier's *Church History*, viii., 389. Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 242.

former hierarchy without any alteration. The extent of dioceses they declare suitable enough to the bishops' office, which is not to minister to individual men, but to take care that all the ministers of religion in the diocese do their duty, and if the dioceses are too large suffragan bishops may be appointed. Some parts of the bishops' work may well be committed to chancellors and lay officials; the spiritual part, such as excommunication, &c., being reserved to the bishops. Bishop Usher's *Reduction* is inconsistent with his other more learned and deliberate writings, and evidently only projected to meet the necessities of the times. A Liturgy being by the objectors acknowledged to be lawful, the Liturgy of the Church of England is believed to be as good a one as can be had. Nevertheless, they are not opposed to a revision of it. The ceremonies they conceive to be justified by lawful authority, and on the principles of the objectors themselves, who profess their desire for peace, ought to be submitted to.*

Character of their reply.

Considering the circumstances of the case, this is, perhaps, a fair and not over-sharp rejoinder to the proposals of the Presbyterians. Every day the unpopularity of these latter increased. "Petitions," says Mr. Sharp, "come up from counties for Episcopacy and Liturgy. The generality of the people are doting after prelacy and the service

* Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 144. Calamy gives an *abridgment* of the answer of the Church divines to the Presbyterians, which in the main has been followed, only some apparently unfair inferences have been corrected from the document itself, which will be found in Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 242.

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book." * But though the tone of the answer was such as might be excused by the circumstances of the case, and likely to suit the prevailing temper, yet it was one well calculated to provoke a still sharper rejoinder.

Baxter's rejoinder.

Accordingly, Baxter drew up a paper in reply, which is composed in so fierce and insulting a spirit, that even his own friends and party would not allow him to publish it. "They considered," says he, "that it would but provoke them and turn a treaty for concord into a sharp disputation, which would increase the discord; and so what I had written was never seen by any man." †

Pacificatory measures.

The combatants were ready for war on both sides, but the King seemed still desirous to act as mediator. Nothing, indeed, could have been more dangerous in the then unsettled state of things, than a fresh and violent outbreak of the old quarrel between Presbyterianism and Episcopacy. However much, therefore, the King's advisers were bent upon re-establishing the Church in all its ancient state, it was thought necessary for the present to temporise. A declaration was drawn up by the Lord Chancellor (Clarendon) and issued for the consideration of both sides, it being understood that the opponent divines should have the opportunity of discussing it before the King, and that the final wording should be that which he should decide on after hearing the arguments. At

* Kennett's *Register*, p. 186.

† Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 242. The paper will be found at page 248.

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this conference the King was present "many days, and many hours each day." * The business, says Baxter, "was not to dispute; but as the Lord Chancellor read over the Declaration, each party was to speak to what they disliked, and the King to determine how it should be as he liked himself." † On the side of the Church were present Drs. Sheldon, Morley, Hinchman, Cosin, Gauden, Hacket, Barwick, and Gunning; ‡ and on that of the Presbyterians, Drs. Reynolds, Wallis, Manton, Spurstow, Messrs. Calamy, Ash, Baxter. There was considerable altercation, as might he expected, and neither side showed much disposition to yield.

The proposal for toleration.

In the midst of the contention, however, the Lord Chancellor produced a paper which proved a somewhat awkward document for both sides. This was a petition for liberty from the Independents and Anabaptists, and with regard to it a clause had been added to the Declaration, giving liberty to all to meet for religious worship, "so be it they do it not to the disturbance of the peace." § The bishops at once perceived that this was designed to include the Papists; the Presbyterians, though demanding liberty for themselves, held that

* *Life of Lord Clarendon, Works*, p. 1034. Only one day appears to be mentioned by other authorities.

† Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 276.

‡ "Dr. Gunning was the most notable."—Baxter. Gunning had, with a constancy and boldness which cannot be too much admired, kept up the service of the Church of England in the Chapel of Exeter House, Strand, quite to the Restoration.—See Samuel Pepys's *Diary*.

§ Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 277.

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the grant of liberty to others was a crying sin; and in the matter of persecution of Socinians and Romanists, both parties met on a common ground.* The proposal for toleration was received with profound silence, till Baxter, with that obtrusiveness which is the great blot of his character, began to declaim against it, and to distinguish the "tolerable from the intolerable." †

Comprehension and toleration.

Yet in the little sentence of the declaration which was so much disliked, was contained a far more valuable concession than in any of the specious and long drawn out commonplaces about Church government, Liturgy, and ceremonies with which that document was filled. Comprehension rarely attains the objects it proposes to itself, and should it attain those objects, it must needs be mischievous. Opposing parties and rival schools do not like one another the better for having been forced to a compromise. They cease to be contentious only by becoming careless.‡ An earnest

* Collier's *Church History*, viii., 392.

† "One of them whispered me in the ear, and intreated me to say nothing, for it was an odious business, but let the bishops speak to it. But the bishops would not speak a word, nor any one of the Presbyterians neither, and so we were like to have ended in that silence. I knew if we consented, it would be charged on us that we spake for a toleration of Papists and Sectaries. And if we spake against it, all sects and parties would be set against us as the causers of their sufferings, and as a partial people that would have liberty ourselves but would have no others have it with us. At last, seeing the silence continue, I thought our very silence would be charged on us as a consent, if it went on, and, therefore, I only said," &c.—Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 277.

‡ The discussion which prevailed at this time on the subject of comprehension, was the means of first urging forward into public notice one of the great divines of our Church. Dr. Edward

championship for what each believes to be the truth, together with a complete and ungrudging toleration of others, as it is the happy settlement of our own times, needs not now to be advocated as the only true wisdom. Richard Baxter who exhausted his energies in devising and advocating schemes of Christian comprehension, could yet see nothing but mischief in the only proposal able really to effectuate that which he so ardently desired, and rather than admit Romanists, Socinians, and Quakers to the favour which he claimed for himself, was ready to perpetuate the abominable and disgraceful system of legalized persecution. The King having professed himself to have decided on the substance of the Declaration he would issue, the conference at Worcester House terminated; four divines, two from each side, having been previously nominated to revise the wording of the Declaration, and lay referees appointed in case of a dispute.*

The King's declaration.

On October 25, the King's Declaration appeared, which referring to his manifesto from Breda promising liberty to tender consciences, and

Stillingfleet, Rector of Sutton, in Bedfordshire, at this juncture published his *Irenicum*, a treatise, the object of which is to prove that no form of Church government is of Divine right, and that things indifferent, such as ceremonies, &c., are not to be imposed as conditions of Church membership. This was one of the earliest decidedly latitudinarian treatises written by a divine of the Church of England. The object of the writer was excellent, but he would purchase comprehension at the cost of zeal, and by taking all distinctiveness from the Church, make it alike valueless to all.

* Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 278.

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to the evils of division, and the blessings of religious concord, proceeds to offer the following concessions: "We do in the first place," runs the document, "declare our purpose and resolution is and shall be to promote the power of godliness, to encourage the exercises of religion both public and private; and to take care that the Lord's Day be applied to holy exercises without unnecessary divertisements; and that insufficient, negligent, and scandalous ministers be not permitted in the Church; and that as the present bishops are known to be men of great and exemplary piety in their lives, which they have manifested in their notorious and unexampled sufferings during their late distempers, and of great and known sufficiency of learning; so we shall take especial care to prefer no man to that office and charge, but men of learning, piety, and virtue, who may be themselves the best examples to those who are to be governed by them; and we shall expect and provide the best we can, that the bishops be frequent preachers, and that they do very often preach themselves in some churches of their diocese, except they be hindered by sickness, or some other bodily infirmity, or some other justifiable occasion, which shall not be thought justifiable if it be frequent. (2.) Because the dioceses, especially some of them, are thought to be of too large extent, we will appoint such a number of suffragan bishops in every diocese as shall be sufficient for a due performance of their work. (3.) No bishop shall ordain or exercise any part of jurisdiction which

appertains to the censures of the Church without the advice and assistance of the Presbyters; and no chancellors, commissaries, and officials as such, shall execute any act of spiritual jurisdiction in these cases; *viz.:* excommunication, absolution, or wherein any of the ministry are concerned with reference to their pastoral charge.....nor shall the archdeacon exercise any jurisdiction without the advice and assistance of six ministers of his archdeaconry, whereof three are to be nominated by the bishop, and three by the election of the major part of the Presbyters within the archdeaconry. (4.) To the end that deans and chapters may be the better fitted to afford counsel and assistance to the bishops both in cases of ordination and the other offices mentioned before, we will take care that those preferments be given to the most learned, pious, and discreet Presbyters of the same diocese. And, moreover, that an equal number to those of the chapter of the most learned, pious, and discreet Presbyters of the same diocese annually chosen by the major part of the Presbyters of the same diocese present at such elections, shall be always advising and assisting together with those of the chapter in all ordination, and in every part of the jurisdiction which appertains to the censures of the Church, and at all other solemn and important actions in the exercise of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction wherein any of the ministry are concerned; provided that at all such meetings the number of those ministers so elected, and those present of the chapter shall be equal, and not ex-

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ceed one the other; and that to make the numbers equal, the juniors of the exceeding number be withdrawn, that the most ancient may take place. Nor shall any suffragan bishop ordain or exercise the forementioned offices and acts of spiritual jurisdiction, but with the advice and assistance of a sufficient number of the most judicious and pious Presbyters annually chosen as aforesaid, within his precincts. And our will is, that the great work of ordination be constantly and solemnly performed by the bishop and his aforesaid Presbytery, at the four set times and seasons appointed by the Church for that purpose. (5.) We will take care that confirmation be solemnly and rightly performed by the information and with the consent of the minister of the place, who shall admit none to the Lord's Supper till they have made a credible profession of their faith, and promised obedience to the will of God, according as is expressed in the considerations of the Rubric before the Catechism: and that all possible diligence be used for the instruction and reformation of scandalous offenders, whom the minister shall not suffer to partake of the Lord's table until they have openly declared themselves to have truly repented, and amended their former naughty lives, as is partly expressed in the Rubrics, and more fully in the canons; provided there be place for due appeal to superior power. But besides the suffragans and their Presbytery, every rural dean (those deans as heretofore to be nominated by the bishop of the diocese) together with three or four ministers of the deanery chosen by

the major part of all the ministers within the same, shall meet once in every month to receive such complaints as shall be presented to them by the ministers or churchwardens; and also to compose all such differences betwixt party and party, as shall be offered to them by way of arbitration, and to convince offenders, and reform all such things as they shall find amiss, by their pastoral reproofs and admonitions, if they may be so reformed: and such matters as they cannot by this pastoral and persuasive way compose and reform, are by them to be prepared for, and presented to the bishop; at which meeting any other ministers of the deanery may, if they please, be present. Moreover, the rural dean and his assistants are, in their respective divisions, to see that children and younger sort be carefully instructed by the respective ministers of every parish in the grounds of the Christian religion, and be able to give a good account of their faith and knowledge, and also of their Christian conversation conformable thereunto, before they be confirmed by the bishop, or admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. (6.) No bishop shall exercise any arbitrary power, or do or impose anything upon the clergy and the people but what is according to the known law of the land. (7.) We are very glad to find that all with whom we have conferred do, in their judgments, approve a liturgy or set form of public worship to be lawful; which, in our judgment, for the preservation of unity and uniformity we conceive to be very necessary, and though we do conceive that the liturgy of the Church of

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England, contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and by law established, to be the best we have seen; yet, since we find some exceptions made against several things therein, we will appoint an equal number of learned divines of both persuasions to review the same, and to make such alterations as shall be thought more necessary, and some additional forms (in the Scripture phrase as near as may be) suited unto the several parts of worship, and that it be left to the minister's choice to use one or other at his discretion. In the meantime, we desire the ministers in their several churches to read as much of the Common Prayer as they do not scruple. In like manner the use of the cross in baptism, bowing at the name of Jesus, and the surplice need not of necessity be used until a settlement is made, and ministers may be allowed to be dispensed with the oath of canonical obedience, and to the subscription to those articles which relate to ceremonial and church government." *

The Declaration not *bonâ fide*.

Such is, in substance, the Declaration which was issued by the King, and if it were indeed *bonâ fide*, it might well be thought to be liberal in concessions towards the Presbyterian party beyond their utmost hopes. Accordingly, it was received with a shout of satisfaction by them. The London ministers sent an address of thanks, and "with delight" enumerated all the points granted to them, and highly extolled the services of those who had procured these great things for them.† But that the

* Collier, *Church Hist.*, viii., 398-400.

† Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 284. Clarendon's *Life, Works*, p. 1034.

Declaration was *bonâ fide*, or that the King and his advisers had any real intention of granting to the Presbyterians one whit more than the Church divines (or "the prelatical party" as they phrased it) were fully inclined to grant, may well be doubted. It would indeed have been a sorry compensation for the labours, trials, and sufferings of the long-persecuted churchmen to find, as the reward of their constancy, the whole system for which they had suffered repudiated by those most pledged to defend it. Under this Declaration the worst feature of the Presbyterian scheme was approved of, and the pastor's office overthrown by the permitted interference in each parish of a body of ministers chosen from the deanery. The commendations bestowed on the liturgy might seem almost ironical, when it is promised, in the same sentence, to provide other forms in exact Scripture phrase to supersede it, if preferred. The great consensus of learned divines who had defended the ceremonies, have here all their labour invalidated, and all the points contended for, with the exception of kneeling at the Eucharist, are given up. Whitgift's great work in enforcing subscription to the whole of the Thirty-nine Articles is abandoned, and by taking away the oath of canonical obedience, the Episcopal power is reduced to a mere name. It is evident that these things *could* not be pleasing to Churchmen, and from hence we may infer that they could not be really intended.*

* For what may be called the backstairs account of these transactions, see Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 121 (ed. 1838). But Burnet's pretended knowledge of all the secret motives at work is, at any rate for this period, little to be trusted.

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Further proof of insincerity.

But more than this. Immediately on the issuing of the Declaration, and before there was time to attempt to make it law, Baxter, Calamy, and Reynolds had the offers of Bishoprics made to them, and Manton, Bates, and Bowles were invited to be deans. It was doubtless politicly calculated that, under cover of this liberal Declaration, they might, and probably would, accept the preferment, and once having accepted it, they would be committed to the Church, whatever its system might afterwards be. If, however, the offer of preferment, backed by so generous a declaration, should be *declined*, then, before the country and the whole Christian world, the Presbyterian party would be shown to be utterly intolerant and intractable. It was, as he himself intimates,* a suspicion of the sincerity of the Government which caused Baxter to refuse the offer of the See of Hereford, and Dr. Reynolds † accepted that of Norwich, only provided that the principles of the Declaration were carried out. Calamy,‡ after long hesitation, also declined the proffered honour.

* *Autobiography*, p. 281.

† Reynolds was not a Presbyterian in principle, but of the school of Hooker and Stillingfleet, not thinking that *any* form of Church government was set forth in Scripture.

‡ Lord Clarendon, who offered Calamy a bishopric, records, in his *Life*, a flagrant instance of that divine's dishonesty. Was he himself *honest* in making the offer? It is difficult to understand how Calamy could for a moment have entertained the offer. He had been a leading man in the Westminster Assembly, and had helped to put down the Book of Common Prayer and Episcopacy. A few weeks previously he had written to the Scotch Presbyterians that his views were unchanged, and that Covenant obligations still bound him. His hesitation, as Baxter tells us, caused

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With regard to the King himself, there is good reason for believing that this Declaration could not fall in with his views, which were not for comprehension but for *toleration*. The sentence, which had caused such dismay in the conference at Worcester House, was doubtless his suggestion; his wish and desire was to admit the Romanists to equal rights with other religious bodies, and preserving the Church of England in its old ascendency, to tolerate all else alike.*

King not for comprehension but toleration.

The evil policy of insincerity and deceit was soon apparent: the King's Declaration served to amuse and tranquillize the Presbyterian body but for a very brief interval. Those who were at first deluded by it, must have been speedily undeceived. "When the Parliament met," says Lord Clarendon, "they gave the King public thanks for his Declaration, and never proceeded further in the matter of religion; of which the King *was very glad:* only some of the leaders brought a bill into the House 'for the making that declaration a law,' which was suitable to their other acts of ingenuity to keep the Church for ever under the same indulgence, and without any settlement; which being quickly perceived, there was no further progress in it." † The

Real intentions of the Government soon perceived.

some scandal among his admirers. There was nothing in Baxter's principles to prevent him becoming a bishop, but he had been a Chaplain in the Parliament's army, and had superseded the Vicar at Kidderminster. Great offence, therefore, would have been given to churchmen by his promotion.

* Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 232. Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 122.

† Clarendon's *Life*, *Works*, p. 1035. See Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 251. "One of the Secretaries of State opposed it, which was a sufficient indication (says Dr. Bates) of the King and Court's aversion to it."—Neal.

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*naïveté* with which the writer of this, who was also the author of the Declaration, and the conductor of all the negociations with the Presbyterians, repudiates the notion of there being anything real in them, is not a little remarkable. Quickly the Convention-Parliament, which had shown itself too much tinged with the Presbyterian dye, was dissolved (Dec. 29), and before the assembling of the next Parliament, "the King made choice of worthy and learned men to supply the vacant sees of bishops, which had been void so many years, and who were consecrated accordingly *before the Parliament met*."*

Restoration of the old incumbents who had survived.

Meantime, throughout the towns and villages of England, the deprived clergy, who had lived to see the ancient order of things restored, were everywhere being reinstated in their benefices. In all cases, where individual application was made to the Parliament, orders were at once issued to the churchwardens to sequestrate the profits of the benefice for the use of the legal possessor till he could take possession. No formal reinduction was needed, as there had never been any deprivation recognized by the law of the land, and from the first moment of the restraining power being taken off, the clergy at once succeeded to their former cures. Difficulties, however, would naturally occur in some cases, and to remove them the Parliament passed an Act during its first session to facilitate the change.† It had been conceded by the Go-

* Clarendon, u. s.

† "Every sequester'd minister who has not justified the late

vernment that wherever the legal incumbent was dead, the intruder, however wanting in formal title, should keep his place. This, which might be thought to bear somewhat hardly on the rights of patrons, was, however, under the circumstances, substantially just. For a brief period the irregular incumbents, without being made subject to any of the Ecclesiastical laws, were allowed to remain unmolested, until it should be seen whether they could comply with the requirements which the Church should formally demand of them, or prefer to resign their livings to save their consciences.

Restoration of Church lands.

Severer measures were taken with regard to the Church and Crown lands, which had been illegally sold during the rebellion. A restoration of these was at once insisted on, and by this means many persons, innocent of any evil designs against King or Church, who had repurchased these lands, became great sufferers. The cathedral appointments were speedily filled up, as it was necessary for the Chapter to be in integrity before a regular election of bishops could take place, and, as soon as this was done, the King proceeded to nominate to the vacant sees.

The surviving bishops.

Nine bishops had survived the troubles, and now appeared ready to resume their charges or to be translated to more important ones. Of these the first in estimation was William Juxon, Bishop of

King's murder, or declared against infant baptism, shall be restored to his living before the 25th December next ensuing, and the present incumbent shall peaceably quit it, and be accountable for dilapidations, and all arrears of *fifths* not paid."—Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 251.

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London, a man if not of profound learning, yet of spotless integrity, charity, and meekness. Juxon had escaped Puritanical attacks, which could not find a place in his character or conduct on which they might fasten themselves, and had lived unmolested in the midst of opposing factions, so as to be able to render to his beloved master the last offices of Christian consolation, and to attend him on the scaffold. His health was weak and broken, but it was evident that he could not, with any justice, be passed by for the highest post in the Church, and on September 3, he was translated to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, the most disciplinarian and unpopular of the Laudian bishops, had passed the whole time of the Rebellion as a prisoner in the Tower, and was now ready, with an energy unbroken by a twenty years' imprisonment, to resume his former charge. Another bishop, of a similar spirit, had also survived—Dr. Pierce, Bishop of Bath and Wells. Besides these, there were six others who were less known: Skinner, Bishop of Oxford, who had been officiating as the parochial minister of Launton near Bicester; Roberts, Bishop of Bangor; Warner, Bishop of Rochester; King, Bishop of Chichester; Brian Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury; and Accepted Frewen, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. Bishop Duppa was a favourite with the King, whose tutor he had been, and obtained the translation to the rich see of Winchester. He is said to have been a moderate man, though no great preacher,* and not

* "With my lord to Whitehall Chapel, where I heard a cold

over liberal in dispensing the rich revenues of his see.* Accepted Frewen was translated to the Archbishopric of York. He was, as might be gathered from his name, the son of Puritanical parents, and was himself inclined to their principles till the time of the war, when he became a convert to opposite views, and advocated them with great earnestness.

The new bishops.

But it was upon the men who, out of all the loyal sufferers and learned divines whom the Church had still kept faithful to her in her day of trouble, would be selected for the high dignity of the Episcopate, that the attention of the country was fixed.

Sanderson made Bishop of Lincoln.

The most eminent of these was the venerable Robert Sanderson. Sanderson, like his friend of kindred spirit, Henry Hammond, had been the firm and undaunted champion of the Church of England all through the time of her humiliation. In him the dignity of virtue and learning was so far respected, that he had been suffered, though subject to frequent insults and annoyances, to exercise his ministry at Boothby Pagnell throughout the troubles; and from that place he sent forth, for the guidance of the Church, his admirable sermons, with the bold and truth-telling prefaces

sermon of the Bishop of Salisbury's (Duppa's), and the ceremonies did not please me; they do so overdo them."—Pepys's *Diary*, July 29, 1660.

* Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 121. (Edition 1838.) This is, perhaps, one of Burnet's calumnies, as it appears from Wood that Bishop Duppa expended very considerable sums in charitable works.

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prefixed to the editions of 1655 and 1657.* In many respects resembling the first of our great Anglican divines, Sanderson, the Hooker of the seventeenth century,† was now called to receive the promotion he had so well earned, and at the age of seventy-three was consecrated Bishop of the great diocese of Lincoln.

Morley of Worcester.

Together with him, was consecrated a divine of different antecedents and claims, but of a not dissimilar spirit. George Morley had been the friend of Edward Hyde, in those happy gatherings at Great Tew, in the house of Lord Falkland, which are so charmingly commemorated in Clarendon's *Life*. Mixing much in the literary world, the friend of Ben Johnson and Edmund Waller, he yet retained the character of a strict and exemplary divine, of abstemious and laborious habits, of great liberality and charity. He had long lived in Sir Edward Hyde's household as his friend and chaplain, and was trusted by him in the delicate negotiations which preceded the Restoration; and no fitter man could be found for advancement to the mitre.‡

A man of somewhat kindred character and claims

* "When you see Dr. Sanderson, I pray you thank him, on my part, for his sermons and the latter part of his preface. Now I am silenced, he is my curate here every Sunday, and preacheth much better than this auditory hath for a long time heard any." Hammond to Sheldon. *Harleian MSS.*, 6942. It would appear that Dr. Hammond either read, or caused to be read, Dr. Sanderson's sermons.

† See Dr. Jacobson's Preface to *Sanderson's Works*, Oxford, 1854. The prefaces are printed in vol. ii. See also Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv. 455.

‡ Burnet's *Own Time*, pp. 120-1 (edition 1838), and notes.

to Morley, one also of the Great Tew coterie, was Gilbert Sheldon, promoted to the prominent and important post of Bishop of London. He was distinguished by his affable and pleasing manners, great dexterity in business, singular tact, prudence, and discretion. "He had an art," says Burnet, "that was peculiar to him, of treating all who came to him in a most obliging manner; he was a very dexterous man in business, had a great quickness of apprehension, and a very true judgment." * During the period of the troubles, Sheldon had been most active and influential in directing the affairs of the Church. He was not a student and a recluse like his friend Hammond, but he was the busy centre of all ecclesiastical projects which were rife during the oppressions of the Protectorate. His qualifications were very suitable for the post he was to fill, and the times in which he was to occupy it; but they were of such a nature as may easily account for the fact that Sheldon has been so freely accused of being nothing more than a clever clerical administrator, and of being deficient in learning and piety.

Sheldon of London.

Merit of almost every sort may seem to have been recognised in the new appointments. Dr. Cosin was promoted to the rich See of Durham, as a well-deserved reward for having through long years of exile ministered sedulously to the English in France, resisted and defeated the machinations of the Jesuits, and upheld the English ritual and

Cosin of Durham.

* *Own Time*, p. 121.

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doctrine in the face of discouragement and difficulties.*

Walton of Chester.

Dr. Bryan Walton was rewarded with the See of Chester for the great work of the Polyglott Bible, which he had perfected under the usurpation, and for his spirited defence of it from the attacks of Dr. Owen.

Gauden of Exeter.

Dr. Gauden was nominated to the See of Exeter for the service he had done to the royal cause in publishing the *Eikon Basiliké*, and for his books in defence of the ministry of the Church and his pathetic pleading for her troubles—*Hieraspistes*, *The Appeal to Cromwell*, and the *Sighs and Tears of the Church of England*.

Monk of Hereford.

Dr. Nicholas Monk had the merit of being the brother of the General whose services had been so remarkable, and was himself an honest and respectable divine.

But where there was such a vast amount of claims and services, where there were old clergymen who could plead deserts of twenty years ago, and sufferings for their loyalty and religion ever since, and younger ones who had the merit of being known to, and having served the present King, it was impossible to apportion the highest pieces of preferment in a way that should satisfy all.

Reynolds of Norwich.

The appointment of Dr. Reynolds to the See of Norwich, was doubtless not left without comment by that party which declared that the King and his advisers had passed "an act of oblivion for their friends, and indemnity for their enemies." And the

* See *Life of Cosin*, prefixed to his Works.

old royalist party would quote such cases as that of Dr. Henry Byam, and contrast them with the offer of sees to Calamy, who had sat in the Assembly of Divines, and Baxter, who had marched as chaplain in the army of Essex.

Dr. Henry Byam.

Dr. Byam, it was remembered, rector of a small parish in Somersetshire, and prebendary of Exeter, had himself raised a troop of horse for the King's service, and entered in it his five sons. His whole estate had been expended, his living sequestrated, himself reduced to poverty, and his wife and daughter brought to their death in escaping from the rebels. Having thus suffered the loss of all for the sake of the King, the Doctor had gone with the Prince of Wales first to Scilly, and then to Jersey, at which latter place he had continued to act as chaplain till the Restoration. It was said that for sanctity of life and learning, Dr. Byam could bear comparison with any who were promoted to bishoprics, but his reward was only a stall in the cathedral of which he had before been prebendary, and an honorary dignity at Wells.*

Feelings of the restored clergy.

There must needs have been numberless instances of the same sort, where the sufferers were so many, and the spirit of devotion to the Crown so ardent; but it was enough for the greater part of those noble-hearted men, who rather than take the Covenant, and abjure the faith to which they were pledged, and which they loved, had borne joyfully the spoiling of their goods, to see what they now were permited to witness. They had been rudely

* Wood's *Athenæ*. Kennett's *Register*, p. 236.

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expelled from the old parsonage, driven from their positions of respect and usefulness, denied the exercise of their sacred office, fined, imprisoned, and persecuted, and the finger of scorn and derision pointed at them—it was enough for them to taste of the sweetness of return to the old familiar spots, and the much-loved Church and Liturgy, without expecting any other reward. Had they not a share in the general joy of the nation, and the glad welcome of many humble and faithful souls wearied of fanatical grimaces, and the buffoonery of a mock religionism? "A general joy and peace," says good old Isaak Walton, "seemed to breathe through the three nations; the suffering and sequestered clergy (who had long, like the children of Israel, sat lamenting their sad condition, and hanged their neglected harps on the willows that grow by the rivers of Babylon) were after many thoughtful days and restless nights, now freed from their sequestrations, restored to their revenues, and to a liberty to adore, praise, and pray to Almighty God publicly, in such order as their consciences and oaths had formerly obliged them."* "Blessed be the day," says Sancroft, with an eloquent burst of feeling, "(let God regard it from above, and a more than common light shine upon it!) in which we see the phœnix arising from her funeral pile, and taking wing again; our holy mother the Church standing up from the dust and ruins in which she sate so long, taking beauty again for ashes, and the garments of praise for the spirit of

* *Life of Sanderson.* Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 454.

heaviness, remounting the episcopal throne, bearing the keys of the kingdom of heaven with her; her hands spread abroad to bless and to ordain, to confirm the weak, and to reconcile the penitent; her breasts flowing with the sincere milk of the world; and girt with a golden girdle under the paps, tying up all by a meet limitation and restriction to primitive patterns, and prescripts apostolical."*

Some of them deteriorated in character.

Doubtless there were instances of the restoration of clergy very unfit for the work of the ministry. Adversity when it fails to teach, hardens and degrades. When the Bishop of Derry had been reduced to become an auctioneer, we may easily imagine that men not gifted with his keenness and energy, had been obliged to stoop even to meaner trades; and some were brought back to the performance of sacred functions who had for many years been employed in very uncongenial work. The employment as schoolmasters had been denied to the ejected clergy by Cromwell's edict of 1655, and it is difficult to conjecture how the greater part of them managed to procure a subsistence through the long years of their proscription. That accusations of drunkenness and disorder were soon made against the restored clergy,† we can scarce wonder when we reflect upon the antecedents of many of them, on the sudden joy of their changed state, and on the sharp and somewhat uncharitable glances which

* Sancroft's *Ordination Sermon*. D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, ii., 346.

† See Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 288.

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were fixed upon their doings. The Nonconformist party, exasperated by their unexpected fall, and still more by the hollow and fruitless attempt at comprehension, were forward in denouncing any scandals which they could discover.

The great body learned and pious.

Yet, in spite of all that can be alleged, it is certain that the Church possessed a large body of learned, pious, and energetic clergy at the era of the Restoration. Over some of them, indeed, the policy of coercion and persecution to which the state, untaught by the bitter experience of the Laudian troubles, again had recourse, has cast a damaging shade. Yet in the midst of a reprehensible system, the fair inquirer will find a goodly crop of Christian excellence flourishing and abounding.

Difficulties in the way of the Church.

Difficulties and drawbacks to hinder the work of the restored Church there were indeed at this season, many in number, and some perhaps more mischievous than the odium arising from measures of coercive severity.

Character of the King.

The infamous character of the King, who disbelieved even in the existence of virtue, was a chief one of these. A careless profligate represented that "sacred" office for which the Church had suffered so much, and abused it to the vilest purposes. The man who could come from his mistress's lodgings to receive the Holy Eucharist, and who, as Burnet says, could scarcely be called a hypocrite, so plainly did he show that he considered it a mere farce, was enough to throw discredit on any system. It is said that good Bishop Juxon,

who had known so well the staid virtue and decorous piety of the father, was so overwhelmed by an interview he had with the son, that he never held up his head again.* And such must have been the feeling of many a true-hearted and loyal churchman, when some Puritanical parishioner drew a parallel between the present state of things and the comparative decorum of Cromwell. With a dissipated scoffer at her head, and joining in her offices palpably for state purposes, with the next heir to the throne known to be a Papist, and a rabble of profligate courtiers following the example of their despicable chief, how could the Church uphold the kingly office, give the King the prominent place which is accorded to him in her system, or preach the doctrines of obedience and submission? It was a hard trial to the sincerity of many an honest man. And then the flood of vice which, with a sudden vehemence, broke over the land in hideous waves, threatened to drown all piety and virtue together. Stimulated to unnatural force by the hypocritical legislation and false religious tone of the Usurpation-era, licentiousness now appeared with a new and formidable strength. It was a reaction which was owned and gloried in, and even made a very religion by the prostituted names of loyalty and honesty. Proclamations against vice were indeed issued and read in churches, but the example of the Court was stronger than its precepts, and the very foundations of morality seemed to be in peril.

Licentiousness of the time.

* Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 120.

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Value of practical writings of Churchmen.

It was then, at that dark moment of danger for all that was good, when the gibes of the witling courtier and the scoffs of a ribald stage threatened to drive Christianity out of the land, that some of the labours of the faithful sons of the Church of England, in their day of persecution, bore abundant fruit. "I remember," says Whiston, "what my father told me, that after the Restoration almost all profession of seriousness in religion would have been laughed out of countenance, under pretence of the hypocrisy of former times, had not two very excellent and serious books, written by eminent royalists, put some stop to it: I mean *The whole duty of Man* and Dr. Hammond's *Practical Catechism*." * Yes, more than the hundred and forty-three treatises of the prolific pen of Baxter, more than all the interminable sermons of the Non-conformist divines, did these words of truth and soberness, uttered in the very spirit of the Church of England, avail to stem the tide of profanity and vice; and the ministers of that Church, who were patiently toiling to instil a kindred instruction, did not fail to see fruit of their labours.

* Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 330, note.

## CHAPTER XXV.

Ministers prosecuted for not using Common Prayer—Preparations for a Conference—The King's Commission—Character of the Savoy Conference—Temper of the Church divines—Of the Presbyterians—The influence of Richard Baxter on this controversy—His opponent, Peter Gunning—John Pearson—Impossibility of a real agreement—The Church view of the Prayer Book—The Nonconformist view—Manner of the Conference—Baxter's Reformed Liturgy—Baxter's exceptions to the Book of Common Prayer—The exceptions agreed upon by the Commissioners—Their petition to the bishops—The reply of the bishops to the paper of exceptions—Baxter's answer—*Vivâ voce* discussion proposed—Tactics of the Church divines—Three disputants selected on each side—The eight points on which the Liturgy is accused as sinful—Manner of the discussion—The point of the lawfulness of commands—Termination of the Conference—The Nonconformists petition to the King—The Convocation of the Province of Canterbury—Its meeting—Committees for drawing up special services—The review of the Liturgy—Impatience of the House of Commons—Alterations made in Prayer Book—Concessions to the Nonconformists—Their small amount not to be regretted—Additions made of great value—The alterations in the Communion office—Character of the Review—Some of the bishops dissatisfied—Usefulness of the work.



THE King's Declaration not having force as law, was not respected by some over-zealous partisans of the Church, who were burning to retaliate for the hardships which they had experienced. In many parts of the country, ministers were informed against, and

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prosecuted at the assizes for not using the Common Prayer, and fined and punished under the old Act of Uniformity. The Chancellor, however, took care to interfere to prevent such sentences taking effect, which would have been too glaring and too early a contradiction to the spirit of the Declaration.*

Preparations for a Conference.

In order also to carry out a part of that document which, at any rate, was plainly practicable, and to which the Episcopal divines had themselves offered no objection, it was determined to summon a Conference between the two parties to be represented by certain commissioners selected and nominated by the Crown—twelve on each side to be chief commissioners, and nine assistants, to occupy the places of the others in case of their not being able to attend.† The King's Commission charged them, within four calendar months, to meet together at the master's lodgings in the Savoy, in the Strand, and there "to take into their serious and

The King's Commission.

* Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 153. *Conformist's Fourth Plea for Nonconformists*, p. 36.

† The Church Commissioners were—(chief) Frewen, Archbishop of York; Sheldon, Bishop of London; Cosin, Bishop of Durham; Warner, Bishop of Rochester; Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln; King, Bishop of Chichester; Henchman, Bishop of Salisbury; Morley, Bishop of Worcester; Laney, Bishop of Peterborough; Walton, Bishop of Chester; Sterne, Bishop of Carlisle; Gauden, Bishop of Exeter—(assistant) Drs. Earle, Heylin, Hacket, Barwick, Gunning, Pearson, Pierce, Sparrow, and Mr. Thorndike.

The *Nonconformist*—(chief) Bishop Reynolds, Drs. Tuckney, Conant, Spurstow, Wallis, Manton; Messrs. Calamy, Baxter, Jackson, Case, Clark, Newcomen—(assistant) Messrs. Horton, Jacomb, Bates, Rawlinson, Cooper, Lightfoot, Collins, Woodbridge, Drake.

grave consideration the several directions, rules, and forms of prayer, and things in the said Book of Common Prayer contained, and to *advise and consult* on and about the same, and the several objections and exceptions which shall now be raised against the same. And, if occasion be, to make such reasonable and necessary alterations, corrections, and amendments therein, as shall be agreed upon to be needful and expedient for the giving satisfaction unto tender consciences, and the restoring and continuance of peace and unity in the churches under our protection and government. But avoiding, as much as may be, all unnecessary alterations of the Forms and Liturgy, wherewith the people are already acquainted, and have so long received in the Church of England." * Chap. XXV. 1661.

Character of the Savoy Conference.

It may be thought that this Conference, to be held "for giving satisfaction to tender consciences," may fairly be considered in the light of an attempt at the comprehension of the Presbyterian party within the Church. A very slight acquaintance, however, with the details of the proceedings at the Savoy, will show that no such character belongs to it. The Savoy Conference was nothing more than a great theological passage of arms, in which the combatants were angry, fierce, determined, watchful, unyielding; in which neither side proposed to itself the winning over of its opposite, but rather its humiliation, defeat, and disgrace.

The bishops had now felt their way, and knew

* Kennett's *Register*, p. 399.

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that they had the country with them. The exasperations of the troubles still continued. They were called to contend with men who were greatly responsible for the persecutions which the Church had endured, who had, most of them, taken the Covenant and railed against prelacy. They could not forget the inflictions of the Westminster Assembly, and the very fact that the Book of Common Prayer had been so rudely assailed and degraded, gave it a more precious value in their eyes.

Temper of the Church divines.

Of the Presbyterians.

The Presbyterians also understood the condition of affairs, and knew that they must yield or be sacrificed. But they desired to signalise their fall by a bold demonstration, to show before the country that they had gained a theological advantage over their opponents. They wished to state, under cover of the King's commission, the whole of the case which they had to urge against the Liturgy, to stigmatise the Church with every imperfection and flaw which they could discover, to denounce the want of discipline, of devotion, and of piety, and then if they must needs fall, to fall like martyrs in a holy cause, compensated by popular sympathy for the sufferings inflicted by the tyranny of the bishops.

The influence of Richard Baxter in this controversy.

Such was the temper in which the opposing parties met, and the one man who was most responsible for the prevalence of this heated temper on both sides, was, without doubt, Richard Baxter. With much that is admirable and excellent in his character, of an extreme subtlety and power of intellect, considerable reading, great readiness of

speech, a heart devoted to religious objects, and really desiring charity and peace, there was yet in Baxter something which effectually marred and prevented the attainment of the objects he professed to aim at.* Wishing to reconcile all parties, he had argued against and embittered all. He had contended with Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and "Prelatists," to say nothing of his onslaughts on smaller foes, such as Ranters, Seekers, Vanists, and Quakers. He had written against the Covenant, condemned the Engagement, denounced subscription to the Articles. He would be bound by neither Presbytery nor bishop, yet the Independents were hateful to him, and the Anabaptists stank in his nostrils. Entirely free from covetousness, disinterested and noble-hearted in his views, he was yet afflicted with an inordinate vanity, and an uncontrollable obtrusiveness of speech.† He had lectured Cromwell, and he scrupled not to lecture the King. He had bearded

* "Of this he seemed himself to be conscious. He writes to one of his correspondents, "I have been in the heat of my zeal so forward in changes and ways of blood, that I fear God will not let me have a hand in the peaceable building of his Church." Kennett's *Register*, p. 431.—Mr. Orme says of him, "That singular man was for ever contriving schemes of union, but very seldom employed the means which were most likely to accomplish them."—Orme's *Owen*, p. 309.

† Burnet's character of him is very apposite. "He was a man of great piety; and if he had not meddled in too many things, would have been esteemed one of the learned men of the age. He wrote near two hundred books—of these, three are large folios; he had a very moving and pathetical way of writing, and was his whole life long a man of great zeal and much simplicity, but was most unhappily subtle and metaphysical in everything."—*Own Time*, p. 123.

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the Independent divines when at the height of their power, and he was eager to beard the bishops. No man could convince him, no man silence him, and no man satisfy him. He had more hair-splittings than Peter Lombard, and greater refinements than "the Angelical Doctor." He could depreciate antiquity when it opposed his views, but quote it with great dexterity when it made for him. In fine, he was an excellent, admirable, but utterly impracticable man. The presence of such a man at a conference, was in itself sufficient to kindle a flame, and as wherever he was, he insisted on taking the most prominent part, and did this pre-eminently at the Savoy, that meeting assumed the character of a violent and dexterous attack upon the Church of England, made by Richard Baxter, and repelled by the champions of the bishops.

He has himself left us a most full and minute account of the proceedings there, and from his own admissions, from the vexatious way in which he conducted the argument, from the sneers, insults, and criminations in which he indulged, we may truly conclude that the conference at the Savoy was not merely time wasted, but time and labour mischievously spent, and that it left things far worse than it found them.* To take one instance out of many of the tone in which Baxter conducted

* "The conference broke up without doing any good. It did rather hurt, and heightened the sharpness that was then in people's minds to such a degree that it needed no addition to raise it higher." Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 124.—"Nothing more was intended," says Neal, "than to drop the Presbyterians with some plausible decency."—*Puritans*, iv., 272.

the disputation on the part of the Nonconformists. He thus begins a reply to the bishops: "Whether it be our arguing or your answering that is lax, declamatory, and pedantic (as you call it), and whether your confident insulting arise from your advantages or infirmity of mind, and want of matter for more pertinent answers, are questions that we shall leave to impartial judges. And we shall crave pardon, if we rather seem to neglect your words, than to follow you in these strange vagaries any further than mere necessity for saving your readers from the error into which they are fitted to mislead them doth require."* Bishop Morley complains that the more pacific temper of the other Nonconformist deputies, was "wholly prostrated by Mr. Baxter's furious eagerness to engage in a disputation,"† and one who did not regard him from the Church point of view, exclaims, "He says there are no controversies in heaven; if there were, I think the angels and saints there have never been quiet since he came among them."‡ The venerable Sanderson has left on record a very strong opinion against this over zealous and impracticable disputant. "He said, with an unusual earnestness, that he had never met with a man of more pertinacious confidence, and less abilities, in all his conversation."§ The latter part of this judgment is undoubtedly too

* Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 350.

† Bishop of Worcester's *Vindication*, &c., p. 13.

‡ Young's *Vindiciæ Anti-Baxterianæ*, quoted by Lathbury, *Prayer Book*, 328.

§ Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 458.

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severe. Baxter was by no means deficient in abilities. Few, however, will be found to dissent from the former part, who read in Baxter's own account the extraordinary way in which he fenced with Dr. Pearson's proposition, "That a command which commands only an act in itself lawful is not sinful." "He seems," says Collier, "to have been either perplexed in his understanding, or indisposed for closing the difference. His talent lay in retiring to foreign distinctions, and misapplication of the rules of logic. But whether this involving the argument and raising a mist, was art or infirmity, is hard to determine." *

His opponent, Peter Gunning.

Opposed to Baxter, on the side of the Church, was a polemical athlete of somewhat similar powers, but of widely different principles. This was Peter Gunning, afterwards Bishop of Ely. "He was a man," says Burnet, "of great reading, and noted for a special subtilty of arguing: all the arts of sophistry were made use of by him on all occasions in as confident a manner as if they had been sound reasoning. Baxter and he spent some days in much logical arguing to the diversion of the town, who thought here were a couple of fencers engaged in disputes that could never be brought to an end, nor have any good effect." † His great opponent thus describes Dr. Gunning: "Dr. Gunning was their forwardest and greatest speaker; understanding well what belonged to a disputant; a man of greater study and industry than any of them, well read in fathers and councils, and of a ready tongue;

* Collier's *Church Hist.*, viii., 425. † *Own Time*, p. 124.

but so vehement in his high imposing principles, and so over zealous for Arminianism, and formality, and Church pomp, and so very eager and fervent in his discourse, that I conceive his prejudice and passion much perverted his judgment."*

John Pearson.

Of all those engaged in the dispute, the man who did himself most credit for solid and able arguing, and perfect temper and charity, was Dr. Pearson, the great author of the *Exposition of the Creed*, afterwards promoted to the See of Chester. "He disputed accurately, soberly, and calmly," says Baxter, "breeding in us a great respect for him, and a persuasion that if he had been independent he would have been for peace, and that if all were in his power it would have gone well."†

Impossibility of a real agreement.

But if there had been an absence of anything like ill temper and exasperation on either side, and a genuine desire for agreement between the Church divines and the Nonconformists, it would have been impossible, without an entire sacrifice of principle, that they should have accorded. In the matter of the liturgy there was a complete opposition in their views. It was not a question of this point or that, the expedience of such a ceremony, the wording of such a collect; they regarded the whole of the Common Prayer Book from entirely different points of view.

The Church view of the Prayer Book.

The Church divines reverenced it as speaking the language of the pure and primitive Catholic Church, as embodying in its formularies the sober wisdom of antiquity ere yet it had become defiled

* Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 364. † *Ibid.*

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by the superstitions of the dark ages. They valued it because it agreed substantially with Scripture, and breathed its very tone, but always in the subdued and chastened language of the great early fathers of the Church. Hence they were not inclined to part with a phrase or a ceremony which could plead antiquity for its support, when it could not be shown to be actually repugnant to Scripture.

The Nonconformist view.

The Nonconformist divines were rather inclined to disparage the Prayer Book for its agreement with the forms of antiquity than to value it on that account. They held that all these things had become too much defiled by Popish abuse to be retained in the Church. If they looked with any favour on the Book of Common Prayer, it was in the points where it approached the views and writings of the great foreign Protestant divines, not in those where it embodied ancient liturgies and creeds. Hence they valued the Articles more than the Collects or Litany, and even declared that they did not differ substantially in any point of *doctrine* from the confession of the Church. But they were sure most to depreciate that which the Church divines most esteemed, and to offer as improvements what in the eyes of Churchmen would be sad deteriorations. A long, unbroken prayer, with its phraseology transferred as exactly as possible from the Scripture, was, in the eyes of the Nonconformists, the most edifying method of public worship. They despised litanies and suffrages; the people joining with the minister, the whole congregation taking a distinct and audible share in the

great common work of worship.* And besides this fundamental difference in their views on the liturgy, there were accidental circumstances which created almost as wide a gulf between them. The Church divines loved the Prayer Book for having been persecuted in common with themselves. The Presbyterians hated it, because they had traduced, vilified, injured, and proscribed it. It would be a strong reflection on their former proceedings if now they should tacitly and willingly receive back and observe that which, in their Westminster Assembly, they had called so many hard names, and for loving and cherishing which they had tyrannically ejected so many worthy and orthodox ministers of the Church. They must needs justify by their present obstinacy the warmth and vehemence of their previous opposition, and they were almost incapacitated by the circumstances of the case from taking a fair and comprehensive view. For these reasons, we can scarcely wonder at, though we may lament, the antagonism and bitterness which characterized what is called the Savoy Conference. Chap. XXV. 1661.

The Commissioners, on both sides, met at the

* "That the repetitions and responsals of the clerk and people, and the alternate reading of the Psalms and Hymns, which cause a confused murmur in the congregation, whereby what is read is less intelligible, and therefore unedifying, may be omitted; the minister being appointed for the people in all public services appertaining to God and the Holy Scriptures both of the Old and New Testament, intimating the people's part in public prayer to be only with silence and reverence to attend thereunto, and to declare their consent in the close by saying, Amen."—*Exceptions against Common Prayer*, offered at Savoy Conference. —Baxter's *Life*, p. 317.

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Manner of the Conference.

Master's lodgings, in the Savoy, on April 15, when the Archbishop of York desired the Bishop of London to speak as to the manner of proceedings. Sheldon, upon this, said, that it was not the bishops but the opposing party who desired alterations in the liturgy, and that, therefore, it was fitting that they should state, in writing, at once and altogether, what were the points to which they objected. The Presbyterians disliked this course, but Baxter recommended them to agree to it for several reasons, and principally because, by keeping to written documents, they would prevent the conference from being falsely reported, and make out a better case for themselves before the country and foreign nations—so little thought had he, from the beginning, of an amicable issue.* The work of the opponents naturally divided itself into two heads. (1.) The stating all the objections which they entertained against the Prayer Book. (2.) The offering in the place of the liturgy to which these objections were entertained, a better, more Scriptural, and more edifying form which it should be competent for ministers to use instead of the other. The first of these works was commenced by the general body of the Nonconformist Commissioners, the second was entrusted solely to the energy, learning, and skill of Richard Baxter.

Baxter's *Reformed Liturgy.*

It is not every divine, however eminent, who would consent to draw up a liturgy for a whole

* It will be unnecessary to refer to the particular page of Baxter's minute narrative for every statement. The account is given in his *Autobiography*, pp. 303-373.

church at a day's notice, but Baxter thought himself called upon to undertake the work, as he had been the principal adviser of it. Retiring to a friend's house with his Bible, his Concordance, the Directory, the Book of Common Prayer, and L'Estrange's Alliance of Divine Offices, he worked assiduously for a fortnight, and, at the end of that time, returned to the Savoy with his *Reformed Liturgy* complete, containing offices for Morning and Evening Prayer, Celebration of the Sacraments, Matrimony, Churching of Women, Visitation of Sick, Burial of the Dead, &c., together with Directions for Catechizing, for Church Discipline, reconciling the penitent, and excommunicating the stubborn. There were also many occasional prayers added. The whole of the Prayers are studiously composed in the very phrase of Scripture, the sentences being sometimes of great length, and argumentative and expostulatory matter being admitted into the Prayers. Provision is made for the use of the Psalms, as in the Church Service, and for the reading of a chapter out of the Old and New Testaments. A great deal of direction or exhortation, with much redundancy of phrase, is inserted here and there, and though much devotion and some power is shown in the performance, yet we may, without lack of charity, assert that the *Reformed Liturgy* is eminently unsuited for a form of common worship in a national Church. Baxter himself did not wish it to be made to supersede the Book of Common Prayer, but only to be placed side by side with it, to be used at the option of the

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minister, and there would scarce have been a danger of oversetting the Prayer Book had the bishops acceded to his request. *

Baxter's exceptions to the Book of Common Prayer.

When Baxter brought to the Savoy his liturgy, after a fortnight spent in its composition, he found that his brethren had not advanced far in drawing up their exceptions to the Book of Common Prayer. Applying himself now to this task, he composed in a short time a paper containing an enormous amount of charges of "disorder and defectiveness" against the Common Prayer, some of which are certainly querulous, not to say childish.† Almost all the Collects which churchmen are accustomed to regard with so much reverence and affection, are found fault with, chiefly on the ground of their containing only one petition each. Everything is said to be out of order, all rubrics defective or unmeaning, all ceremonies objectionable. How a man who could write this paper could either have used or patiently listened to the Common Prayer, is matter for amazement.

The exceptions agreed upon by the Commissioners.

But Baxter's colleagues at once rejected his paper of exceptions as too sharp and sweeping, and soon after presented to the bishops a document of a somewhat more moderate character. In this the liturgy is acknowledged to have been an "excellent

* The *Reformed Liturgy* will be found at length in the Appendix to vol. i. of Calamy's *Life of Baxter*.

† He finds fault with "bishops and curates being prayed for without the parish incumbent, or else it is intimated that they are but the bishop's curates, or else they are called bishops themselves, and no man can tell certainly which of these is the sense."—*Life*, p. 309. Is this real or merely assumed folly?

and worthy work" for the time in which it was done, but capable of very great improvement. They contend that the first Reformers drew up the forms with a view, as much as possible, to win upon Papists, and they desire that in the same spirit the forms should now be so drawn up as to win upon Presbyterians. They object to the responses, to the mention of Lent as a religious fast, to the observation of Saints' days, to the exclusion of extemporary prayer, to the Apocrypha, to the reading of the Second service at the Communion table, to the use of the word *priest*, to the supposing all hearers to be in a state of grace, to certain obsolete words in the prayers, to the retention of the old version of the Scriptures in any part of the services, and to the alleged disorder of the arrangement. Instead of various Collects, they would have one "methodical and entire form of prayer." They desire more *particularity* in the Prayers, and greater fulness in the Catechism. They desire that the ceremonies of wearing a surplice, using the cross at Baptism, and kneeling at the Communion, may not be made obligatory. Besides these general points, they gave in a paper of particular alterations in rubrics or prayers which they desired to have made, and, with these papers, joined a petition to the bishops to "yield to such terms of peace and concord as they themselves did confess to be *lawful* to be yielded to." This last was done at Baxter's suggestion, and seems to have been designed to place the bishops in a false

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position before the country,* for as yet, pending their answer, they had done nothing to show that they were not inclined to yield to anything which they thought was lawful.

Having drawn up the petition, they prevailed with the Church divines to allow them to read it to them, which Baxter exultingly says, they would never have done if they had known what was in it; and, says he, "their patience was never so put to it by us, as in hearing so long and *ungrateful* a petition." The "ungrateful petition" did not, probably, have a very favourable influence on the temper of the divines who were to answer the objections, and when the bishops' paper was handed to their opponents, it could hardly be said to show much likeness of a peaceful comprehension.

The reply of the bishops to the paper of exceptions.

The reply begins by claiming, very fairly, for the sober and attached members of the Church of England at least as much consideration as the ministers claim for the pious persons, who, they say, scruple the use of the liturgy. It is contended that these would have a just cause for complaint if all the alterations proposed should be made merely to please those who had been the enemies of the Church. The Reformers, it is asserted, were careful in compiling the liturgy to put nothing into it but what is either evidently the Word of God, or has been generally received by the Catholic Church. It is not true to say that it is "loaded with Church

* He says, "Forasmuch as I saw what was likely to be end of our conference, I desired the brethren that we might draw up a plain and earnest petition."—*Life*, p. 334.

pomp, imagery, many superfluities, and obsolete customs." It was intended originally to give fair satisfaction to Romanists and Protestants, and has been generally approved by the foreign Protestant divines. Responses and alternate readings, it is contended, are conducive to edification and devotion, "which is apt to sleep or grow languid in a long-continued prayer." This is said, also, to have been the judgment of the Jewish and early Christian churches. The objectors contradict themselves when they say the minister alone should be engaged in the public worship, for they allow the people to take part in Psalmody, and "if in a psalm, why not in a litany?" The observation of Lent has been universal in the Church, and may be done in an edifying manner. Saints' days are of ecclesiastical institution, but the custom is primitive, and sanctioned by the Saviour's observing the feast of dedication. With regard to the demand for a freedom for extemporary prayer, it is urged that it is dangerous and unedifying, and that the very object of a liturgy is to supersede it. The objections against the obsolete language in the Prayer Book are agreed to. The Apocrypha is defended on the ground of its being instructive. Reading the service at the Communion-table on the ground of its being ancient. The use of the word *priest* is necessary where there is a distinction between the offices of priest and deacon. The addressing all the congregation as in a state of grace, is only doing what St. Paul does in his Epistles. The connexion of the parts of the liturgy is similar to ancient pat-

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terns, and very admirable. The Collects, by their brevity, are best suited to devotion. The Confession is more suitable to public worship for being couched in general terms. With regard to the Ceremonies, God has given a power to his Church to see that all things are done decently and in order, and of the particulars the governors are to be the judges; and of the governed it is said, "Ye must needs be subject." They then discuss the particular ceremonies on their own merits.*

Baxter's answer.

This reply is simply a defence of the Liturgy, and shows no signs of a readiness to yield anything by way of comprehension. The Presbyterians at once proceeded to answer it. This task, however, it was thought would be better performed by the keen and practised pen of Baxter alone, than by the general body of the divines. Accordingly, Baxter "went out of town, to Dr. Spurstow's house in Hackney, for retirement," and in eight days drew up the answer to the bishops' paper.† Of this answer, Collier remarks "it must be said that they did not make the worst defence, nor showed themselves unqualified with parts and learning." Yet some extremely captious objections to the Liturgy are to be found in this paper.‡

*Vivâ voce* discussion proposed.

The time limited for the Conference was now, however, wearing away, and nothing was as yet done. The Nonconformists were extremely desirous of a *vivâ voce* discussion, to see, as they

* Collier, *Church History*, viii., 409—421.
† Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 334.
‡ Collier's *Church History*, viii., 421.

said, how far the bishops would yield on the points touched upon in their papers. To this the Church divines at length consented, but when they had met, their opponents found that they were not likely to gain much by the concession.

Tactics of the Church divines.

Under the able generalship of Sheldon and Morley, the Church Commissioners stood resolutely on the defensive and could not be tempted by soft invitations, sarcastic insinuations, or passionate appeals, to say one word either upon Baxter's *Reformed Liturgy*, or the other papers of exceptions against the Common Prayer. "They had nothing to do," they declared, "till the others had proved that there was any necessity of alteration; which they had not yet done." * This determination, on the part of the Church Commissioners, put their opponents, as Baxter confesses, "in a very great strait." By thus assuming the position of judges, and intrenching themselves within the bulwarks of their legal *status* and the advantages of possession, the bishops completely put an end even to the semblance of a *Conference*, such as had been implied in the Royal Commission, and turned the meeting into a trial, in which the Nonconformists were called upon to show cause why the Liturgy should not be enforced upon them.

Three disputants selected on each side.

Some of the Presbyterians, seeing the false position into which they were about to be brought, were for closing the discussion at once; but Baxter, whose love for polemical strife was insatiable, persuaded them to agree to dispute, and it was arranged

* Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 335.

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that he himself, Dr. Bates, and Dr. Jacomb, should be the chosen champions on the Nonconformist side; while the Church should be represented by Dr. Gunning, Dr. Pearson, and Dr. Sparrow. The chair was always to be taken by one of the bishops, and Baxter himself acknowledges that he was always fairly dealt with by the president. Against some others of the Church divines, however, who took part in the disputation with him (for his coadjutors appear to have left it entirely to him) he brings the most sweeping charges. Bishop Morley, he says, was always interrupting, browbeating, and insulting him. Bishop Cosin treated him with furious passion. He perceived "that they had little compassion for souls, and little regard of the scruples and tenderness of godly people." He charges them with intended cruelty and persecution, with hypocrisy and treachery. Little, indeed, save bitterness and exasperation, was gained by these personal conflicts.

The eight points in which the Liturgy was accused as sinful.

Eight points were handed in by the Nonconformists, in connection with the Liturgy, as things which they were prepared to prove absolutely sinful. These were—

(1.) That no minister could be admitted to baptize without using the sign of the cross.

(2.) That no minister could be permitted to officiate without wearing the surplice.

(3) That ministers were obliged to deny the Communion of the Lord's Supper to all who would not receive it kneeling.

(4.) That all ministers were obliged to pronounce all baptized infants regenerate.

(5.) That ministers were forced to deliver the Sacrament to the unfit, and that such were forced to receive it.

(6.) That ministers were forced to absolve the unfit, and in absolute expressions.*

(7.) That ministers were forced to give thanks for all who were brought to be buried, as brethren whom God, in mercy, hath delivered and taken to himself.

(8.) That none might be a preacher who dared not subscribe that there is nothing in the Common Prayer Book, the Book of Ordination, and the Thirty-nine Articles, which is contrary to the Word of God.

Manner of the discussion.

Upon these points the disputation was to be held, and it was elected to begin with the third. The discussion was conducted according to the formal rules of logic, the opponents handing in on paper regular syllogisms, with premises and conclusions fully stated, and the respondents denying the major, or minor, or the inference. But the whole discussion came at last to turn upon one point, viz.,—whether a command which enjoins a thing, in itself lawful, can be sinful. Baxter maintained that it could be, and that it was sinful in

* "Of the eight sinful things which they here enumerate, two of them, the fifth and the sixth are positively false in the supposition of them; for, by the Liturgy, the minister was not *forced* either to administer the Sacrament or the absolution to unfit persons."—Kennett's *Complete History*, iii., 235.

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certain cases—as, for instance, when, accidentally, a wrong followed upon what was lawful, or when it was enjoined under a disproportionate penalty.* Upon this point a fierce battle raged between Baxter on one side, and Gunning and Pearson on the other. Certainly the views of the former appear to be subversive of all authority; "not only," says Bishop Morley, "denying all power to the Church of making canons ecclesiastical for the better ordering and governing of the Church, but also taking away all legislative power from the King and Parliament, and even from God himself."† But the Nonconformist divine was too stubborn to yield, and too subtle to be brought to a stand-still. For every paradox he still had his reasons; and when the legal term for the closing of the Conference had arrived, he and Dr. Gunning, his great opponent, agreed to continue the strife for the pure love of the thing.‡ On second thoughts, however, Dr. Gunning wisely declined; and in this unsatisfactory and inconclusive manner, the great Savoy Conference terminated.

The point of the lawfulness of commands.

Termination of the Conference.

The commissioners on both sides agreed to report to the King, "That the Church's welfare, that unity and peace, and his Majesty's satisfaction, were ends upon which they were all agreed; but as to the means, they could not come to any harmony." §

* See the attestation of Drs. Gunning and Pearson.—*Bishop of Worcester's Letter touching Mr. Baxter*, p. 35.

† *Ibid.*, p. 10.

‡ Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 357.

§ Collier's *Church Hist.*, viii., 426.

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The Non-conformists petition the King.

As soon as the conference was ended the Non-conformist ministers presented a petition to the King, which was drawn up by Baxter, some of the more offensive passages in the original draught being afterwards expunged. They thank the King for his Declaration, and assert that they had sought for peace in the late conference, though unfortunately no agreement could be arrived at. They declared that they "owned no principles of faction or disobedience, nor patronized the errors or obstinacy of any." "It is granted us by all," they say, "that nothing should be commanded us by man, which is contrary to the Word of God; that if it be, and we know it, we are bound not to perform it, God being the absolute universal Sovereign; that we must use all just means to discern the will of God, and whether the commands of man be contrary to it.....And on the other hand, we are agreed that in things no way against the laws of God, the commands of our governors must be obeyed.* We beseech your Majesty to believe that as we seek no greater matters in the world, than our daily bread, with liberty to preach the Gospel, and worship God according to his Word, and the practice of the primitive purest Church, so we hope it is not through pusillanimity and overmuch tenderness of suffering, that we have pleaded so much for the avoidance of suffering to ourselves and others. May none of our sufferings hinder the prosperity of the Church and the good of souls

* This appears to have been the very thing which Baxter denied at the conference.

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.....And though (in the late conference) we seem to have laboured in vain, we shall yet lay this work of reconciliation and peace at the feet of your Majesty, beseeching you to prosecute such a blessed resolution till it attain success. We must needs believe that when your Majesty took our consent to a Liturgy to be a foundation that would infer our concord, you meant not that we should have no concord, but by consenting to this Liturgy without any considerable alteration. We most humbly beseech your Majesty, that none be punished or troubled for not using the Common Prayer till it be effectually reformed." *

With this petition the business closed, so far as the Nonconformist divines were concerned, but concurrently with the conference at the Savoy, the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury had been sitting, with a license to make canons and alterations of the Liturgy, &c.; and to this body, and its proceedings, the eyes of all must now have been turned to see what terms would ultimately be enforced on the scrupulous ministers who still held preferment in the Church.

The convocation of the Province of Canterbury.

It is asserted that it had not been the intention of the government to summon a convocation at the meeting of the Parliament, probably on account of the still pending issue of the Savoy conference, but that a letter of remonstrance from Dr. Heylin induced Lord Clarendon to do so.† The Chancellor, however, in his *Autobiography*,

* Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 366-8.

† Colllier, viii., 427. Kennett's *Complete Hist.*, iii.

says, that at the same time that writs were issued for the Parliament, "summons had likewise been sent to the bishops for the meeting of the clergy in convocation, which is the legal synod of England; against the coming together whereof the Liturgy would be finished, which his Majesty intended to be sent thither to be examined, debated, and confirmed." * In the elections for convocation, staunch churchmen were generally chosen, and the Nonconformist element almost entirely excluded. Baxter complains that this was done by unfair means, because "in many countries all those ministers who for twenty years together, when bishops had been laid aside, had been ordained without diocesans," † were denied a vote. This, however, at any rate, could not have been the case in London, where he and Calamy were actually elected by a majority, though not selected to sit afterwards by the Bishop of London.

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On May 8, old St. Paul's again witnessed the solemn gathering of the representatives of the Province of Canterbury.‡ The long procession, the rich scarlet habits, the chanting of the *Te Deum* as the clergy slowly advanced through the nave, the Latin prayers and sermon, and all the time-honoured formalities must have seemed strange after a lapse of more than twenty years, to a population which had grown into manhood under different influences. Dr. Henry Ferne, Dean of Ely, was chosen Prolocutor of the Lower House,

Its meeting.

* Clarendon's *Life*, p. 1047. † *Autobiography*, p. 333.
‡ Kennett's *Register*, 434.

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and in the Upper, Bishop Sheldon represented the Archbishop, prevented by his infirmities from being present.

Committees for drawing up special services.

The first work of the convocation was to draw up a form of thanksgiving for May 29, the day of the King's Restoration, and also his birthday. This work was entrusted to a committee of bishops and proctors, and at the same time another committee was charged to draw a form for January 30. We are sufficiently familiar with these forms to render a notice of them unnecessary, as until within a few years they have been printed in our Prayer Books. The service for May 29, does not appear to be fairly chargeable with the same objections as apply to those of January 30 and November 5, but to be as sober as could be expected from the excited feelings of the time. On the day appointed it was read in all the London churches,* and doubtless called forth much heartfelt thanksgiving to God for the prospect of peace, order, and tranquillity now happily given to the nation. A form for the baptism of adults was next drawn up and approved by the Upper House, vast numbers in the late confusions having grown up without baptism; and, on June 7, a committee was appointed to prepare a form of prayer for a public fast, "for averting those sicknesses and diseases, that dearth and scarcity which may justly be feared from the late immoderate fall of rain and waters." †

The important business of Convocation did not,

* Kennett's *Register*, p. 452. † *Ibid.*, p. 470.

however, commence till November 21, when the House met after a four months' adjournment, and the King's letters, authorizing them to review, alter, and amend the Book of Common Prayer, were read. Similar letters had also been addressed to the Convocation of the Province of York; and in order that the great work of the review of the Prayer Book might be despatched with the speed and unanimity which were so desirable, the York Convocation agreed to appoint certain proxies or commissioners to act for their Lower House in the Convocation of Canterbury, while their Upper House attended personally, that thus the whole Church of England might act at once.*

The review of the Liturgy.

The House of Commons had been so impatient to make a settlement in religion and to repress the confidence of the Nonconformists, that it could not be contented to wait for the slow action of Convocation. It appointed a committee on June 25, to make search for the second service book of King Edward. Afterwards it abandoned this, and adopted the book of 1604, which, together with an Act for Uniformity, it sent up to the Lords on July 9.† The Lords' House was willing to wait for the amended book, but it did not fail to show considerable impatience in the matter, and some imputations were heard against the King of slackness and want of zeal for the Church.‡ Consequently, the matter was now hurried through the Convo-

Impatience of the House of Commons.

* Kennett's *Register*, pp. 564-6.
† Cardwell's *History of Conferences*, p. 376.
‡ *Life of Lord Clarendon*, p. 1076.

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cation with all possible despatch, and in one month from the meeting after the adjournment, the book, approved and subscribed, was presented to his Majesty, and it was ordered that the amendments should be considered in the privy council, four bishops being present, before it was laid before the Parliament.*

Alterations made in Prayer Book.

It will now, therefore, be our business to consider the changes made in the Common Prayer Book by the Convocation of 1661, which were at the same time to satisfy the wishes of the Church in the matter of some desired additions and enlargements, and to lay before the Nonconformist party the utmost limits, to which, in view of their objections to the Liturgy, now sufficiently notorious, the Church was prepared to go.

Concessions to the Nonconformists.

It does not appear that any direct concessions to the Nonconformists were made in the alterations agreed upon, except the following: Instead of calling by the name of "Epistle," a portion of the Old Testament, or of the Acts of the Apostles, or the Revelation, read in the place of the Epistle, it was ordered that the minister should say "The portion of Scripture appointed for the Epistle." The Epistles and Gospels in the Communion office were now taken from the new translation of the Bible—the old version of the Psalms being, however, still retained. These two changes were of minor importance. A more important concession was the order to the minister to read the exhortation to the Lord's Supper on the Sunday

* Kennett's *Register*, pp. 631-2.

or holy-day preceding, when notice is given of the Communion, and not at the time of the actual celebration, as had been done previously.

Their mall amount not to be regretted.

With these exceptions, it does not appear that any of the Nonconformist objections were carried out. Neither is this to be regretted. The Liturgy might have been impaired; the ancient order and catholic tone, the sober spirit and wise comprehensiveness of phrase might have been lost in pursuing the vain chimera of an impossible unity,* while scrupulous brethren would still have scrupled, and tender consciences still proved tender.† It is impossible to calculate the amount of mischief which might have been done to the Church in tone and feeling, had Litanies and Responses been sacrificed for unbroken prayer in the metaphorical language of Scripture, and the congregation rigidly excluded from all share in the common worship, save the joining in the *amens*.

Additions made of great value.

Some additions, however, were made, partly with a view to the Nonconformist requirements, of great value to the Church. Such was the beautiful collect of general thanksgiving, the work of Bishop Reynolds,‡ one of the opponent divines at the Savoy. Such was the admirable prayer for all conditions of

* "Variety of opinions is impossible to be cured; and they who attempt it, do like him who claps his shoulder to the ground to stop an earthquake."—Jeremy Taylor, *Liberty of Prophesying*.

† "It is an unhappy policy to imagine that that *classis* of men can be recovered and reconciled by partial concessions..... And if all were granted, they would still have more to ask."—*Clarendon's Life*, p. 1075.

‡ Lathbury's *History of Convocation*, p. 289.

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men, by which the Church now, for the first time, makes a petition for the heathen a part of her daily office. Such were the Prayer for the High Court of Parliament* and the collects for the Ember weeks. New collects were also composed for Easter Eve, the sixth Sunday after the Epiphany (with Epistle and Gospel), the third Sunday in Advent, and St. Stephen's Day; and many alterations were made in other collects. Some of these, at least, were the work of the venerable Sanderson, to whose wisdom and piety the task of writing the preface to the amended volume was committed by the Convocation, and who also remodelled the service to be used at sea.† Important additions were made in prefixing to the Evening Service the sentences, exhortation, confession, and absolution, as in the morning; in the office for adult baptism, the first of the anthems for Easter Day, and in the Epistle for the Purification. Additions were also made to the prayer for the Church militant ("alms and oblations," "we also bless thy holy name," &c.); to the Litany ("rebellion and schism"); to the prayer of consecration in the Eucharist (marginal rubrics); to the office of Infant Baptism ("Wilt thou keep God's holy will and commandments?" and in the Collect, "Sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin"); and to the Burial Service in the two psalms.‡ An

* This was the work of Dr. Pory, Archdeacon of Middlesex. —D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, i., 114, note.

† Walton's *Sanderson*, Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 458.

‡ Only some of the most important changes made are here enu-

alteration, involving principle, was made in the rubric, which directed the absolution to be read by the priest alone,* standing. The Gloria Patri was now ordered to be read after every division of the 119th Psalm; the people to stand up at the Gospel and Nicene Creed. Chap. XXV. 1661.

The most important, doubtless, of the alterations were those made in the Offertory and Communion office, because in them we can distinctly trace the expression of a principle and doctrine which had not found a place in our earlier Prayer Books. The notion, highly valued by some divines, of the priest making a material sacrifice of Thanksgiving is now carefully provided for. The rubric for the offertory directs that the alms shall be (not "deposited in the poor-box," as the earlier books directed, but) brought to the priest, "who shall humbly present and *place* them upon the Holy table." In like manner, when there is a Communion, "the priest shall then *place* upon the table so much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient." In the prayer for the Church Militant, the insertion of the word "oblations" provides for the solemn dedication of these material offerings, and the rubric, for what remains of the bread and wine to be covered with a napkin, implies their sacred character. There The alterations in the Communion office.

merated. The whole of the changes are computed to amount to about six hundred.—Cardwell's *History of Conferences*, p. 395.

* It may indeed be doubted if this were an alteration of principle, as the word priest is still retained (somewhat strangely) in our rubrics before prayers which it has never been doubted that a deacon may use.

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can be little doubt that these changes were suggested by the Scotch Service Book of 1637, the same words being used in the rubrics of the two books.*

Character of the review.

The review of the liturgy, perfected as it was in the short space of one month, deserves our highest praise and admiration, and the additions being made before the nervous English of the seventeenth century had been injured by the vapid platitudes of a later date, the new prayers and collects blend harmoniously with the old, and will satisfy the taste, and touch the heart of Englishmen till the end of time. In the changes made, besides the learning and skill of the divines present, great use was made of valuable MS. notes of other men of reputation in the Church. Bishop Overall and Bishop Andrewes had left suggestions and annotations which were considered with the respect due to their great names, and Bishop Cosin produced for the assistance of those who were engaged in the review, the liturgical collections which he had made, and his own notes upon them.† Sancroft and Pell revised the calendar,‡ being chosen for that purpose on account of their mathematical skill, though not members of the Convocation, and their work was afterwards approved and adopted by some members of the Upper House. §

* See Preface to Dr. Bulley's *Variations of Communion Offices*, Oxford, 1842. Cardwell's *History of Conferences*, p. 390.

† Kennett's *Register*, p. 566.

‡ D'Oyley's *Life of Sancroft*, i., 114.

§ A very important change was now made in the ordinal for the consecration of a bishop. After the words, "Take the Holy

Yet this great work of the revision of the liturgy had not the hearty approval of all the bishops. "Some of them," says Lord Clarendon, "thought it best to restore and confirm the old Book of Common Prayer without any alterations or additions; and that it would be the best vindication the liturgy and government of the Church could receive that, after so many scandals and reproaches cast upon them both, they should now be restored, to be in all respects the same they had been before."* Chap. XXV. 1661. Some of the bishops dissatisfied.

We may trace in this the mind of Bishop Wren, but few will be disposed to agree with the noble writer in considering such a narrow view a wise one, nor think it expedient that because Nonconformists were not likely to be satisfied with the alterations made, therefore the spiritual interests of the Church itself were to be neglected. The edification of the faithful members of the Church was, we may well believe, at least as much a care to the members of the Convocation as the attempt to reconcile opponents; and if success did not attend their labours in the latter point, certainly in the former they did a great and good work which enti- Usefulness of the work.

Ghost," was inserted "for the office and work of a bishop in the Church of God." It seems uncertain whether this was done to meet Romanist or Presbyterian objections, but it was urged on both sides that the Anglican ordinal made no distinction between a bishop and a priest.—See Dr. Prideaux's *Letter*. *Tanner MSS.*, 29, 73. Cardwell's *Hist. of Conferences*, p. 385, note. *Conformist's First Plea for Nonconformists*, p. 54.

* *Life of Lord Clarendon*, p. 1074.

Chap. XXV. 1661. tles them to the gratitude of all true lovers of the Church of England.*

* "Our general aim, therefore, in this undertaking was not to gratify this or that party in their unreasonable demands; but to do that which, to the best of our understandings, we conceived might most tend to the preservation of peace and unity in the Church; the procuring of reverence, and the exciting of piety and devotion in the public worship of God, and the cutting off occasion from them that seek occasion of cavil or quarrel against the liturgy of the Church."—Sanderson's *Preface*, 1662.

## CHAPTER XXVI.



Parliament anxious to repress the religious disorders—King addresses them on the subject—Bill for Uniformity read a first time in the Lords—Discussions on the Bill—Re-ordination—Declaration of assent and consent—Canonical obedience—Vindictive clauses—Bill presented to the King—Becomes the law of the land—Anger of the Presbyterian party—Their attempts to stop the measure—The approach of St. Bartholomew's day—The secession of the Nonconforming ministers—Displays an honourable conscientiousness—Their exclusion justifiable—Followed up by a miserable policy—Measure well received in the country—Difference of opinion as to the lawful degree of conformity—Ministers thrown into prison—Romish faction scheme to aggravate the troubles—King's dispensing power—Opposed by all parties—House of Commons protest against it—King obliged to yield—Death of Archbishop Juxon—Of Bishop Sanderson—Rise of the Latitudinarians—Destructiveness of their system—Restoration of cathedrals and churches—Bishop Cosin at Durham—Other instances of liberality—Taxation of the clergy—First Conventicle Act—Occasional conformity—Atrocious injustice of the Act—Sufferings of the Quakers—Discontent in the country—Proposal to sell toleration—King turned against the bishops—Zeal for the Church in the House of Commons—The Five Mile Act—Bishop Earle opposes the Act—Richard Baxter committed under it—Cruelty of the law—Some Nonconformist ministers take the oath.



HILE the clergy were busy in their Convocation, the ministers of the Presbyterian bias seeing clearly that there would be no real concession made to their views, and that it was determined to suppress them, were loud and vehement in their

Parliament anxious to repress the religious disorders.

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declamations against the Church and the bishops. Unfortunately, some of the restored Church dignitaries had given too great cause for reproach, from the eagerness with which they had sought to enforce their rights of property to the utmost letter of the law, and in invalidating the leases which had been granted by the purchasers of Church lands during the troubles.* Others were too eager to assume a jurisdiction which was as yet suspended, and the Nonconforming divines did not fail to point out the omens which their conduct furnished of their future strictness. † The Anabaptists and Quakers also, in the interregnum of legal suppression which still prevailed, became more loud and bold in their demands, and the Parliament, which was full of zeal for the Church and Monarchy,‡ and impatient to redress these extravagances, became seriously dissatisfied with the King and his advisers on

* "They had long been kept fasting," says Lord Clarendon, "and now had appetites proportionable."—*Life*, p. 1047. "And yet," says Dr. Eachard, "so it is that because the bishops on their first being restored, had the confidence to levy fines according as they were justly due, and desired to live in their own houses (if not pulled down), and to recive their own rents; presently, they cry out, the churchmen have got all the treasure and money of the nation into their hands. If they have any, let them thank God for it, and make a good use of it. Weep not, beloved, for there is very little hope that they will cast it all into the sea, on purpose to stop the mouths of them that say they have too much."—*Causes of Contempt of the Clergy*, p. 109.

† Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 252.

‡ In the first session the militia was given absolutely to the King, the solemn league and covenant delared void and illegal, the Act for disabling persons in Holy Orders from exercising jurisdiction was repealed, the bishops were restored to their seats in Parliament, the old ecclesiastical jurisdiction was revived by the repeal of the 17th Charles I., except the part relating to the Court of High Commission.

account of the delay in the preparation of the liturgy.*

King addresses them on the subject.

In fact, this uneasiness at the long time that the settlement of the Church remained in abeyance, became so strong, that the King found it necessary to address the House of Commons on the subject. He said, "he heard that they were very zealous for the Church, and very solicitous, and even jealous, that there was not expedition used enough in that affair; he thanked them for it, since he presumed that it proceeded from a good root of piety and devotion. But, he must tell them, that he had the worst luck in the world, if, after all the reproaches of being a Papist while he was abroad, he was suspected to be a Presbyterian now he was come home. He knew they would not take it unkindly if he told them that he was as zealous for the Church of England as any of them could wish, and had prejudice enough to those who did not love it, who he hoped in time would be better informed, and so change their minds; and they might be confident he did as much desire to have an uniformity settled as any man among them. He prayed them to trust him in that affair, and promised them to hasten the despatch of it with all convenient speed: they might rely upon him in it." †

Bill for uniformity read a first time in the Lords.

The Lords had kept back for a considerable time the bill sent up to them from the Commons, but they now signified their impatience by reading it a

* Clarendon's *Life*, p. 1075. See Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 177.
† *Ibid.*

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first time before the amended Prayer Book had been presented to them. This was at last done on March 25 by the Lord Chancellor, who recommended that the Act of Uniformity should refer to the new book. No opposition appears to have been made to this except by the Earl of Northumberland, who expressed an opinion favourable to reviving the old book and the Act of Uniformity of Queen Elizabeth. It was known that this lord spoke the opinions of the Presbyterian party, and hence it might be seen that the alterations made in the Prayer Book were held by the Nonconformists to give it a stronger Church tone than it had shown before, particularly, we may presume, in the Communion office. This opposition, however, was easily overcome. *

Discussions on the bill.

But upon the discussion of the Act of Uniformity, much time was expended, and many keen debates took place in both houses. The first important addition to the old act was a clause moved in the House of Peers, to the effect that no person should have any cure of souls, or ecclesiastical dignity in the Church of England, but such as had been or should be ordained priest or deacon by some bishop, excepting only the foreign Protestant ministers stationed in London and other places. This was treading on delicate ground, and was somewhat of a novelty. Even in the old times previous to the Rebellion, in the days of Elizabeth and James, there were probably to be found instances of English incumbents with orders de-

* Clarendon's *Life*, p. 1077.

rived from the foreign Protestant churches; at any rate, now such cases were abundant in England, to say nothing of the ministers ordained in Scotland, and those ordained by the Assembly of Divines.* It was therefore objected that to enact this was to cast an unreasonable and unwarrantable reflection upon the foreign churches, such as many of our greatest divines had refused to cast.† Dean Field in his great work *Of the Church*, had allowed that Presbyters might in some cases lawfully ordain. Bishop Morton had allowed the same with regard to the foreign churches, through refusing to sanction Presbyterian ordination in England.‡ If a priest of the Church of Rome, it was urged, renounced his errors, he would not be required to be ordained, why then should those ordained by the lawful authorities in Protestant churches be required? It was answered that Parliament and the Church of England were now called to legislate merely for their own people. The case of foreign Protestant churches was not in any way before them, neither did they judge them. They held that Episcopacy was of the essence of ordination

* "There had been many, and at present there were some, who possessed benefices with cure of souls and other ecclesiastical promotions, who had never received orders but in France or Holland."—Clarendon's *Life*, p. 1077. See, on this point, the remarkable correspondence between Bishop Philpotts and Lord Macaulay, recently published.

† See the wise course adopted by Archbishop Bramhall in this matter, as given in chapter xxx.

‡ See Lathbury's *Convocation*, p. 293. Field, *Of the Church*, book v. This view may be said to be generally held by that school of divines who consider Episcopacy to be a different degree, not a distinct order from the priesthood.

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where it was to be had, and as it was now to be had in England, they required Episcopal ordination. These arguments prevailed, and the clause was added. Very few, says Lord Clarendon, were in the end ejected by the operation of this clause.*

Reordination.

It seemed indeed hard for those who had been regularly ordained by the only authority in the country allowed at the time, who had been solemnly set apart to the sacred ministry by fasting, and prayer, and imposition of hands, and had the blessing of heaven for many years attending their sacred ministrations, now to have their previous work and ministry completely ignored, and to be obliged to come like a youth of twenty-three, professing their desire to take upon themselves the "office of a deacon;" especially where the bishops with a needless strictness insisted on a formal and expressed renunciation of their previous orders.† This, however, was not more than the Church was justified in requiring with a view to order, and in a matter which touched, in the estimation of many, the validity of the Sacraments themselves.

Declaration of assent and consent.

The next clause in the act which was of any great importance, was that which required all ministers of the Church to make a subscription, declaring their unfeigned assent and consent to all things contained in the Book of Common Prayer, &c. This clause indeed did not cause much discussion in Parliament, as it appeared, we may conclude, obviously and fundamentally necessary.‡ Yet it

* Clarendon's *Life*, p. 1078. † Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 197-9.

‡ "Mr. Secretary Coventry desired that those who are in the

was bitterly inveighed against by the Nonconformists afterwards, who held that it was an excess of rigour to extort from them an approval, and even commendation of the Liturgy, whereas it would satisfy all possible requirements if they agreed to use it. Another objection was also urged against it. Very few of the country ministers, it is said, could obtain a sight of the amended Book of Common Prayer before the day fixed for subscribing, and they were thus driven to assent to it in the dark.* It is probable, indeed, that this latter objection might have been got over by a little diligence, and as for the matter of subscription, if uniformity is to be observed, some binding declaration must of necessity be made, and that worded with sufficient force and distinctness to prevent Jesuitical reservations.†

Canonical obedience.

To the requiring the oath of canonical obedience at institution to a benefice, and to the promise in the ordination service reverently to obey "the ordinary and other chief ministers" strong objections were made, the Nonconformist party choosing to assume that the oath of *canonical obedience*, was an oath to obey the canons, but as this is obviously a false inference, the objection falls to the ground.

Vindictive clauses.

So far indeed the requirements of the Act of

Church may be clear in the Church." "Mr. Garroway moved to take off assent and consent." Mr. Secretary Coventry: "Will you have them make subscription to what they neither assent nor consent to?"—*Parliamentary Hist.*, iv., 537-9.

* Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 299. Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 201.

† Clarendon's *Life*, 1078. Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 201-38, where the whole objections of the Nonconformists are well stated.

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Uniformity were not overstrained in order to produce the result aimed at, and were no more than the Church had fairly a right to ask of the ministers of her communion, nor the State to exact as the conditions of an established national Church. But there were other parts of the act which were of a different character; clauses which were simply retaliatory and vindictive, which involved a declaration subversive of all true liberty, and seemed to inflict a malicious humiliation, and put an unnecessary stumbling-block in the way of men disposed to peace. "The bill was no sooner read in the Commons," says Lord Clarendon, "than every man according to his passion thought of adding something to it that might make it more grievous to somebody whom he did not love."* It was this bad spirit which produced the objectionable clause enjoining that "all parsons, vicars, curates, lecturers, schoolmasters," &c., should subscribe a declaration, "that it is not lawful *upon any pretence whatsoever*, to take arms against the King, and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those commissioned by his authority." Much may be excused to men transported by the first fervour of an unaccustomed loyalty, but surely to impose this false doctrine and base abnegation of the liberty of the subject on all ministers of religion, was nothing less than a scandal and a shame.†

* Clarendon's *Life*, u. s.

† "A weight more grievous than a thousand ceremonies was added to the old conformity."—Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 384.

The same vindictiveness also enacted that all ministers should declare that there lay no obligation on them from the taking of the solemn league and covenant, and that this oath was an "*unlawful* oath, and imposed upon the subjects of this realm against the known laws and liberties of the kingdom." What good end could be served in thus making men condemn themselves, and swear to their own disgrace? No wonder that this amendment of the Commons was opposed warmly in the Lords "as a thing unnecessary, and which would widen the breach instead of closing up the wounds that had been made."* A much greater zeal for high views was indeed displayed by the House of Commons than by the Lords, and it was not till after some time, and considerable discussion, that the amendments of the former were finally agreed to, and the bill passed. On May 19, it received the royal assent, being to take effect upon and from August 24 following, St. Bartholomew's Day.†

Bill presented to the King.

In presenting the bill to the King, the Speaker of the Commons said, "We cannot forget the late disputing age, wherein most persons took a liberty,

The great Hooker thus speaks the view of the true English Churchman in this matter; "In kingdoms the highest governor hath indeed universal dominion, but with dependence upon that whole entire body, over the several parts of which he hath dominion, so that it standeth for an axiom in this case, the King is *major singulis, universis minor*."—*Eccles. Pol.*, viii., ii., 7.

* Clarendon's *Life*, p. 1078. See Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 300-1. Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 259. *Conformist's Fourth Plea for the Nonconformists.*

† Kennett's *Register*, p. 689.

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and some men made it their delight to trample upon the discipline and government of the Church. The hedge being broken down, the foxes and the wolves did enter, the swine and other unclean beasts defiled the temple. At length it was discovered the Smectymnuan plot did not only bend itself to reform ceremonies, but sought to erect a popular authority of elders, and to root out Episcopal jurisdiction. In order to this work, Church ornaments were first taken away, then the means whereby distinction or inequality might be upheld amongst ecclesiastical governors; then the forms of Common Prayer, which, as members of the public body of Christ Church, were enjoined us, were decried as superstitious; and in lieu thereof, nothing, or worse than nothing, was introduced. Your Majesty having already restored the governors and government of the Church, the patrimony and privileges of our churchmen, we hold it now our duty, for the reformation of all abuses in the public worship of God, to present unto your Majesty a bill for 'The Uniformity of public prayers and administration of the Sacraments.' We hope the God of order and unity will conform the hearts of all people in this nation to serve him in this order and uniformity." * The King, in his short speech, made no comments on the bill; and the Lord Chancellor, who followed, expressed his confident belief that the exertions of the bishops and clergy would soon reduce all who held aloof from the Church into her ranks.†

Thus the Act of Uniformity became law, and

* Kennett's *Register*, p. 688. † *Ibid.*, p. 694.

incumbents, fellows, &c., who refused to comply with its requirements before August 24, were *ipso facto* to be deprived of their preferments and the benefices to become vacant, as if the previous holders had been dead; while for those unbeneficed clergy who refused to conform, the penalty enacted was three months imprisonment.

Becomes the law of the land.

"No sooner," says Lord Clarendon, "was the act published, than all the Presbyterian ministers expressed their disapprobation of it, with all the passion imaginable." * They complained that the King had falsified his Declaration made from Breda; but that Declaration had, in fact, been cautiously worded to refer all things to the settlement of the Parliament. They exclaimed that it was an act of persecution, rivalling the greatest atrocities of Papal history, not remembering that most of the ministers who scrupled to conform, only owed their livings to such a title as persecution could give them, and it was they who smote with the sword who were now to perish by the sword. They magnified the merits of the men whose ejection was threatened, their powerful preaching, their pastoral diligence; † while their opponents stigmatized them as fanatics and dreamers, of mutinous and rebellious principles; and asserted that men of less power, but sounder views, would be far more uselful to their flocks.‡

Anger of the Presbyterian party.

The chief among the threatened ministers soon

* Clarendon's *Life*, p. 1079.
† Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 184.
‡ Clarendon's *Life*, p. 1082.

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Their attempts to stop the measure.

managed to find a way to the King, and obtained, from the indifference or policy of Charles, some encouragement to hope for relief. The chancellor, much to his surprise, received an intimation that he must find some way of preventing the execution of the law, at least for three months; and some of the bishops were summoned to Hampton Court to consider the matter. As it appeared that Charles had made an absolute promise to the London ministers, Clarendon thought it incumbent upon him to strive to bring about its fulfilment, and thus seemed to the astonished bishops to be advocating the cause of their enemies; but the lawyers plainly declared that it was impossible to set aside or suspend an Act of Parliament, and the King gave up the cause of the ministers "with great bitterness against that people in general," for the trouble to which they had put him.*

The approach of St. Bartholomew's Day.

And now the dreaded St. Bartholomew's Day drew near, when all who would not conform to the requirements of the Act of Uniformity must needs quit their cures. Great pains had been taken by the leaders of the Nonconforming party to procure a unity of action among them, that their imposing numbers might make them formidable, and that, if they were to fall, they might fall together, in unbroken ranks and order.† It appears that even after the failure of the negotiations at Hampton Court, and the clear opinions of the lawyers, to the very last moment they continued to press the King

* Clarendon's *Life*, u. s. Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 131.
† Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 131.

to suspend the law; and so far prevailed, that a council was summoned only three days before the appointed time, to consider the feasibility of so doing. At this council Sheldon presented himself, though not a privy counsellor, and argued with such force against the suspension of the law, that he is said to have convinced all the King's advisers of the impolicy of the act, and the cause of the objectors was abandoned.* In the London churches generally, on the Sunday before St. Bartholomew's Day, farewell sermons were preached by all the dissentients, which were afterwards collected and published together, and this was done also in many parts of the country.†

The secession of the Non-conforming ministers.

At the appointed period, about 1,800‡ ministers left their places, and ceased to officiate as ministers of the Church of England. This was, indeed, a large number, being, probably, one-fifth of all the clergy of England, and a goodly testimony to the sincerity of their convictions, and the strength of their conscientious scruples. Their sacrifice, says Burnet, "begot esteem and raised compassion;" yet one of their historians complains that "a general clamour was raised against them." And the bitter way in which Lord Clarendon speaks of them, shows that there was a party which strove to represent their conscientious recusancy as mere

Displays an honourable conscientiousness.

* Parkeri *Commentarii de rebus sui temporis*, p. 27.

† Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 304.

‡ This is Baxter's computation. Calamy and Bates calculate 2,000. Bishop Parker implies that they were completely surprised into the resignation, having trusted to the last moment to the King's yielding.

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mutiny and sedition.* Collier, the Church historian, is more just. "The misfortune of their persuasion," says he, "cannot be remembered without regret; those who quit their interest are certainly in earnest, and deserve a charitable construction; mistakes in religion are to be tenderly used, and conscience ought to be pitied when it cannot be relieved."†

Their exclusion justifiable.

A vast sacrifice indeed was it to banish eighteen hundred earnest and devoted men, at a time when practical religion was in so great danger; but no less a sacrifice was required for the efficiency of the Church now and hereafter.‡ Comprehension, if it had been tried, would have proved fallacious; zeal would have been impaired, internal divisions become rife.§ Men must have something to contend

* Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 131. Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 190. Clarendon's *Life*, p. 1082.

† Collier's *Church History*, viii., 436.

‡ "They believed it was better to keep them out of the Church than bring them into it, since a faction upon that would arise in the Church, which they thought might be more dangerous than the schism itself was. Besides, they said, if some things were now to be changed in compliance with the humour of the party, as soon as that was done another party might demand other concessions, and there might be as good reasons invented for these as for those. Many such concessions might also shake those of our own communion, and tempt them to forsake us, and go over to the Church of Rome, pretending that we changed so often, that they were thereby inclined to be of a Church which was constant and true to herself."—Burnet's *Life of Hale*.

§ "If you consider who they are whom the Church is like to lose, you will find they are only such as 'tis not for her advantage to keep. Secret enemies are, of all others, the most dangerous, for we can provide against mischiefs which we know, but those we know not, overtake us without remedy."—*Judgment of a Good Subject on his Majesty's Declaration*, p. 8.

for which they love and reverence, not which they merely tolerate and endure. The Churchman could now labour zealously to forward the interests of a Church which was undivided and undiluted, and the Nonconformist side by side with him, could strive in a rivalry of good works to uphold the cause of religion in the land.* There was nothing in the Act of Uniformity, and the exclusion of the dissentient ministers to prevent these desirable results.†

Followed up by a miserable policy.

But in the wretched policy by which the act was followed up; in the refusal of toleration to the excluded ministers; in the persecution, imprisonment and even death‡ with which they were visited; in the abominable series of Conventicle Acts and Test Acts, there was much to cast disgrace upon the government and on the Church, which it apparently protected, but in reality degraded.

Measure well received in the country.

The Bishop of London had taken great pains to provide occupants for the numerous vacant pulpits in his diocese, and appears to have succeeded

* "And although the Spirit of God did not rest upon us in divided tongues, yet so long as those tongues were of fire, not to kindle strife, but to warm our affections and inflame our charities, we should find that this variety of opinions would be looked upon only as a diversity of operations while the Spirit is the same, and that another man believes not so well as I, is only an argument that I have a better and a clearer illumination than he, and excel him in this, and am perhaps excelled by him in many more gifts."—Jeremy Taylor's *Liberty of Prophesying*.

† "The Act of Uniformity was easy, which set up Church qualifications, but did not impeach separate meetings. The sectaries were not satisfied, but urged the King to dispense so as to hold their preferments. So they went on making the best of their congregations till the Acts of Conventicles came, and that discomposed them entirely."—North's *Examen*, p. 446.

‡ Kennett's *Register*, p. 828.

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in preventing any intermission of the services.* Some slight disturbances were experienced, but from the country generally the news came that the change was readily acquiesced in, and in those places where the Common Prayer had not hitherto been used, it was welcomed back again with joy.† Many of the divines who had sided with the Presbyterian party, did not think it necessary to refuse conformity; even some of the commissioners at the Savoy (as Bishop Reynolds, Drs. Wallis, Horton, Lightfoot, Conant) conformed.

Mr. Baxter had ceased to preach some months previously, and as he had no preferment in the Church, St. Bartholomew's Day brought no especial harm to him personally. He felt, however, deeply for the affliction of his brethren, and continued to employ himself in attempts to relieve it.

The ministers who refused conformity, did not all agree in their views as to the course of conduct

* Kennett's *Register*, p. 747. Parkeri *Commentarii*, p. 29.

† The following is an account from Taunton: "Monday, August 25. The parish being destitute of a minister to preach by the Nonconformity of Mr. Newton, a very worthy gentleman, Mr. Thomas James (late of All Soul's College, in Oxford) yesterday being Bartholomew's Day, supplied his place. The neighbour gentry were purposely there present, and Mr. James being furnished with the Book of Common Prayer, Church vestments, &c., according to the late Act of Parliament, read the whole service for Morning and Evening Prayer, and christened two children accordingly. And I cannot but acquaint you the whole town was present, behaving themselves as if their minister, Mr. Newton, had carried away with him all faction and Nonconformity. The mayor and aldermen were all in their formalities, and not a man in all the Church had his hat on either at service or sermon, which gave the gentry of that country great satisfaction."—Letter in *Mercurius Publicus*. Kennett, p. 749.

which best became them under their new circumstances. Some of them thought that they might lawfully attend the ordinances of the Church, join in the Common Prayer, and receive the Communion, while they were diligent to teach and instruct their people privately as far as the law allowed them. Others considered it their duty not to cease their public ministrations from any fear of men, to deliver their sermons in the streets or the fields, until they were forcibly compelled to leave their ministry by being thrown into prison.*

Difference of opinion as to the lawful degree of Conformity.

Into prison indeed, many of them soon found their way.† Edmund Calamy, the most famous among the Presbyterian orators, whose church at Aldermanbury had been frequented by the greatest of the land, at whose week-day lecture sixty coaches might be seen blocking up the streets, was sent to Newgate for preaching after St. Bartholomew's Day, but thither too his admirers followed him, and he still continued his exhortations within the walls of the gaol.‡ "It is impossible," says the author of the *Conformist's Plea for the Nonconformists*, "to relate the number of the sufferings both of ministers and people, the great trials with hardships upon their persons, estates, and families, by uncomfortable separations, dispersions, unsettlements, and removes; disgraces, reproaches, imprisonments, chargeable journies, expenses in law, tedious sicknesses, and incurable diseases ending in death." §

Ministers thrown into prison.

* Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 385. † *Ibid.*, p. 432.
‡ Calamy's *Baxter*, ii., 5, 6.
§ *Fourth Plea for the Nonconformists*, p. 40.

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Romish faction scheme to aggravate the troubles.

The evils inevitable to the ejection of the ministers were doubtless increased by the harshness and vindictive spirit displayed in many cases against those who were regarded as the great source of all the troubles of the nation, but besides the obvious causes which must needs occasion much suffering and ill feeling, there was a latent but very powerful one at work to embitter all things, and produce anger and discontent. This was the scheming of the Romish faction, which from its head quarters at Somerset House, where the Queen Mother resided, was constantly employed in fomenting and aggravating the divisions in the religious world of England, increasing the number of dissentients, magnifying their influence in the nation, and defeating all attempts at comprehension, that a toleration of dissenting bodies in which they themselves would have a share, might become a matter of absolute necessity to the state.

King's dispensing power.

It was soon seen, however, by the Romanists, that the present Parliament would never sanction a toleration, and hence, if it was to be obtained, some other means must be tried. It was determined, therefore, to persuade the King to assert a dispensing power in matters of religion, a power which should claim, without abrogating, to suspend the operation of any law, and which under the guise of a charitable regard for the scruples of the subject would at once nullify all the penal enactments against Popery. This was the beginning of the policy which was perfected in the next reign, of making the demands of the ultra-Protestant the

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foundation for the favour of the Romanist. Charles readily lent himself to the scheme. He was opposed to religious persecution by his natural easy temper, and if he favoured any one form of religion more than another, it was that of the Romanist. Immediately after the Act of Uniformity had come into operation, the silenced ministers presented a petition to the King for toleration, and on December 26, appeared a declaration from the King to all his loving subjects, acquainting them how zealous he had been in establishing religion, "but that being done, we are glad to renew to all our subjects concerned in those promises of indulgence this assurance. That as for what concerns the penalties upon those who (living peaceably) do not conform to the Church of England through scruple or tenderness of misguided conscience, but modestly and without scandal perform their devotions in their own way, we shall make it our special care as far as in us lies, without invading the freedom of Parliament to incline their wisdom at the next approaching session, to concur with us in making some act for that purpose, as may enable us to exercise with more universal satisfaction that *power of dispensing which we conceive to be inherent in us*." It is not, says his Majesty, his intention to exclude Papists from all benefit of such an act of indulgence, but they are not to expect an open toleration.

Opposed by all parties.

However much all wise and candid men might have wished for a toleration, it was impossible that any man, who valued the liberties of his country,

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could tamely submit to see the King abrogate a law by "a power of dispensing which he conceived to be inherent in him."* The wiser of the Nonconformists even saw the aim in view, and received the Declaration coldly. The bishops were much grieved by it, and Lord Clarendon used all his power to nullify it. But against this able minister, and devoted friend of the Church, there was now arising a strong party to which the King lent too willing an ear. Clarendon was stern, virtuous, true; he would not condescend to court a mistress, or favour a low intrigue. Such a man was sure not to retain his influence long in the profligate court of a licentious King. Hence the first success of the policy which produced the Declaration of indulgence, and hence the eventual fall of the great minister.

The King had, in his Declaration, been constrained to refer to Parliament, and when Parliament met in February, great was the indignation at the dispensation proposed. The House of Commons protested against it. (1.) On the ground of its establishing schism by a law, and making the censures of the Church of no consideration. (2.) Because it contradicted the Act of Uniformity.†

House of Commons protest against it.

* Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 133, sq. Burnet's *Life of Hale*. Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 540. Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 318. Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 305. Clarendon's *Life*. Kennett's *Complete History*, iii., 248.

† "It will no way become the gravity and wisdom of Parliament to pass a law at one session for Uniformity, and the next session, the reasons for Uniformity remaining the same, to pass another law to frustrate or weaken the execution of it."—*Parliamentary History*, iv., 262.

(3.) Because it would encourage every sect to be importunate. (4.) Because it would tend to increase sects to greater numbers than they were already: "and in time some prevalent sect may contend for an establishment which may end in Popery." (5.) That it was unprecedented. (6.) That it was not likely to promote the peace, but the disturbance of the kingdom. *

King obliged to yield.

To this protest the King was, for the present at least, forced to yield, and the High Church party were able to proceed in their policy of coercion without opposition. The most vigorous and determined of the bishops was Sheldon, Bishop of London, who had openly expressed his desire of purging the Church of every remnant of the Puritanical party, and his fear lest too many of them should conform. In these views he was ably seconded by Dr. Seth Ward, Bishop of Exeter, and afterwards of Salisbury, who, says Burnet, "became the most considerable man on the bishops' bench." †

Death of Archbishop Juxon.

The good old Archbishop Juxon had taken a milder view, and even suffered a Nonconformist minister in his diocese to continue officiating on one part of the day, while the orthodox incumbent performed the other service. ‡ But, in June of this year, Archbishop Juxon passed to his rest, and was succeeded by Sheldon.

* *Parliamentary History*, iv., 262. Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 321. Parkeri *Comm.*, p. 55, sq.

† Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 132. Pope's *Life of Ward*, p. 68.

‡ Kennett's *Register*.

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Of Bishop Sanderson.

The venerable Sanderson had preceded the Primate on his last journey by four months, having spent the short time of his occupation of the See of Lincoln in rebuilding the ruined palace, and providing for the augmentation of poor vicarages.*

Rise of the Latitudinarians.

Both these prelates, thoroughly imbued with Church principles and Catholic spirit, were mild in their treatment of Nonconformists through charity and kindness of heart.† But there was now arising in the Church another school of divines, whose development and increase was greatly due to the pressure of the Nonconformist controversy. These men were neither Puritans nor High-Churchmen, but regarded the whole of the matters in dispute from an entirely different point in view. In that College of Cambridge, where Joseph Mede had lived, laboured, and died, another divine, of equal learning, and more brilliant fancy and originality, had succeeded to the traditions of the renown of Christ's. This was Henry More, commonly distinguished as the Platonist, "an open-hearted and sincere Christian philosopher, who studied to establish men in the great principles of religion against atheism." The teaching of Henry More soon began to found a school, and, together with the influence of Drs. Whichcot and Worthington, men of like views, to give a distinctive character to the Cambridge theo-

* Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 459.

† Bishop Sanderson had a roll of Nonconformist ministers, against whom he was urged to take proceedings. Finding his end approaching, he ordered the roll to be burnt, as he did not desire to leave such a legacy to his successor.—*Conformist's First Plea for Nonconformists*, p. 26.

logy. The vast learning of Cudworth, whose independent principles were lost in the brilliancy of his intellectual fame, and the great popularity of Wilkins, one of the earliest members of the Royal Society, the friend of Matthew Hale, were employed on the same object. These men "studied to take men off from being in parties, or from narrow notions, from superstitious conceits, and a fierceness about opinions." * They were Platonists and Cartesians," says Baxter, "and many of them Arminians, with some additions, having more charitable thoughts than others of the salvation of heathens and infidels. These were ingenuous men and scholars, and of universal principles, and free, abhorring at first the imposition of those little things, but thinking them not great enough to stick at when imposed." † "They declared against superstition on the one hand, and enthusiasm on the other. They loved the constitution of the Church and of the liturgy, and could well live under them, but they did not think it unlawful to live under another form. They wished that things might have been carried with more moderation, and they allowed a great freedom both in philosophy and divinity; from whence they were called men of latitude. And upon this, men of narrower thoughts and fiercer tempers fastened upon them the name of *Latitudinarians*." ‡ This school of divines, destined to exercise a vast influence on

* Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 127.
† Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 386.
‡ Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 128.

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the Church of England even up to modern times, to heathenize her theology, destroy her earnestness, and betray her traditions, was now represented by the great names of Wilkins and Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and Patrick. Dr. Wilkins had married the sister of the Protector, but he had been the faithful friend of oppressed Royalists, and he had the singular good fortune to stand equally high under both Governments. First Warden of Wadham, in Oxford, then Master of Trinity in Cambridge, he was ejected from this high dignity at the Restoration, and became preacher to Gray's Inn, and Minister of St. Lawrence, Jewry.* Tillotson, the son of a Yorkshire clothier, bred up a strict Calvinist, had now emerged from obscurity, and on the suppression of the Nonconformists, became the most popular preacher in London. Patrick, a man of earnest and active piety, was labouring at Covent Garden, while Lloyd, another learned and laborious divine of the same school, was administering with great vigour the vast parish of St. Martin's.† The Latitudinarian school was fortunate in its earliest disciples, and had much to recommend it, when the liberal characters and hearty labours of these men were contrasted with the narrow-mindedness of Wren, or the political churchmanship of Sheldon.

Destructiveness of their system.

But no Church, nor any society which has a creed, can safely tolerate Latitudinarians. To sacrifice landmarks because they appear small and petty,

* Wood's *Athenæ*, iii., 967.
† Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 130.

to cast away distinctions because they seem invidious, to temporise in the sacred concerns of faith, and to cultivate amenities at the expense of earnestness—what is this but to destroy the very notion of a Church, and to reduce Christianity to a philosophy and a sentiment?

Restoration of cathedrals and churches.

While these divines of the new school were attracting attention as great preachers, the bishops were sedulously labouring in their dioceses to produce something like order out of the chaos of twenty years' confusion. They had to restore cathedrals which had suffered a complete ruin in everything except the shell of their walls,* to rebuild bishops' houses, to bring back alienated revenues, and to provide means for supplying the ministrations of the Church in the poorer parishes of their dioceses. The King had, on this latter subject, directed a letter to the archbishops, bishops, deans, and chapters: "That forthwith provision be made for the augmentation of all such vicarages and cures, where the tithes and profits are appropriated to them and their successors, in such manner that they who immediately attend upon the performance of ministerial offices in each parish may have a competent portion out of every rectory

* To this Salisbury is an honourable exception. Pope, in his *Life of Ward*, thus writes: "To the eternal honour of the loyal gentry of the diocese, whose names I wish I knew, that I might, as much as in me lies, consecrate them to posterity, during the whole time of the civil war and the King's exile, when there was neither bishop nor dean to take care of it, they employed workmen to keep that sacred and magnificent pile in repair."—Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 61.

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impropriate." The ecclesiastical corporations appear, in many instances at least, to have assented to this, but lay impropriators remained obdurate, and no general or effectual augmentation of poor livings took place.* In each diocese the work mainly depended on the public spirit, munificence, and activity of the bishops. Burnet and even Clarendon speak somewhat unfavourably of the Church dignitaries of the period in this respect, but certainly there were many exceptions who showed anything but a niggard spirit. Sanderson, at Lincoln, scarce caring for his wife and family, in his eagerness to do something in this work before his death; † Hacket, at Lichfield, labouring with his own hands in removing the ruins of his cathedral, and employing his carriage horses and servants in the work; ‡ Seth Ward, at Exeter, reclaiming his palace from the hands of the sugar-baker, in which Bishop Gauden had contentedly left it, restoring his cathedral (which had been partitioned between the Presbyterians and Independents) at the cost of £20,000, and diligently augmenting the stipends of poor vicars and prebendaries; § and, above all,

* Collier's *Church History*, viii., 441. D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*.

† Walton's *Sanderson*, Wordsworth, iv., 459.

‡ Among the *Tanner MSS.* (vol. 44) is to be found a very full account of Bishop Hacket's active labours, and of the way in which he was opposed by Dean Wood, who afterwards figured so disreputably as Bishop of Lichfield. See also Harmer's *Life of Sir W. Dugdale*, p. 115. The great antiquary contributed £10 towards the restoration.

§ Pope's *Life of Ward*, pp. 55—57. Kennett's *Register*, p. 844.

Bishop Cosin, at Durham, who suited his munificence to his preferment and showed a true princely spirit. Chap. XXVI. 1663.

At the Restoration, Cosin is said to have been the first to read the Common Prayer in his cathedral at Peterborough, as he had been the first sufferer for Church principles at the beginning of the Rebellion. He contributed £300 to the restoration fund at Peterborough,* and as soon as he was removed to Durham, he opened wide the gates of his liberality. Received in his new diocese in royal style by the people, delighted to see once more a prince-bishop among them; presented, "on his entrance through the River Tees with the sword which killed the dragon, and with all the formality of trumpets, gunshots, and acclamations,"† he displayed a right princely spirit in the use of his vast revenues. The Castle of Bishop Auckland, the principal palace of the bishops of Durham, had been granted to Sir Arthur Hazlerig, the most sour and bigoted of fanatics, who had pulled down the ancient chapel of Bishop Bek, to erect a fair new mansion for his residence. Bishop Cosin endeavoured to restore the materials to the consecrated use, and rebuilt the chapel with great magnificence. At Durham and Darlington, he repaired and enlarged the bishops' houses, furnishing his chapels with gilt plate, books, and costly ornaments, and expending in his restorations no less than £26,000. Bishop Cosin at Durham.

* Kennett's *Register*, p. 766.

† See a MS. account of Bishop Cosin's entry into Durham.—*Harleian MSS.*, 3783, 187.

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He also built two hospitals for poor people, school-houses, and a library at Durham, providing the latter with books to the value of £2,000; and at Peter-House, in Cambridge, he expended large sums on the chapel and the library. In that University he founded eight scholarships, and there and elsewhere made other benefactions too numerous to particularise, continuing his liberal donations during the eleven years of his episcopate, and leaving many similar provisions in his will.*

Other instances of liberality.

And there were other of the bishops not less munificent. From the time of his being made Bishop of London to his decease, Gilbert Sheldon expended no less than £66,000 in charities and public benefits, and Morley, Bishop of Winchester, was equally open-handed.† Nothing would be more likely to make the nation contentedly acquiesce in the restoration of the Church endowments, which had been long enjoyed by laymen, and contribute towards the important task of augmenting the poor benefices, than the spectacle of these great benefactions of the richer churchmen. The admirers of Oliver Cromwell have complacently recorded his giving £100 a year and twenty manuscripts to Oxford, but what was this compared to the splendid munificence of Laud and Sheldon?

Taxation of the clergy.

Yet so long as the clergy were exempted from the ordinary taxation of the State, and had the privilege of settling their own imposts in Convocation, malicious persons would be sure to accuse

* Life of Cosin.—*Biographia Britannica.*

† Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses.* Parkeri *Commentarii.*

them of shrinking from their fair proportion of the common burdens, and being less heavily mulcted than any other class. It was to take away the occasion for this reproach, that Archbishop Sheldon, soon after his promotion to the primacy, agreed with the Lord Chancellor (with the consent of the other bishops) to abandon the ancient right of the clergy to tax themselves, and to submit to the ordinary taxation of the state. This wise resolve was carried out in an act for Parliament, containing for form sake a reservation of the ancient rights and privileges of the clergy,* which at the same time it practically took away.

First Conventicle Act.

But while the Parliament was popularizing the Church in this matter, it dealt a savage blow at the Nonconformists, which was calculated to produce exasperation and ill-blood in a portion of the laity towards the bishops and clergy. The King's attempt at introducing a dispensing power had been defeated, even some of the Nonconformists themselves refusing to purchase their own ease by the favour of Popery.† But the dissentients had continued to press their case upon the royal attention, and a renewal of the attempt to grant a toleration might soon be expected. To prevent this, to menace and coerce the discontented party, and especially the lay members of the congregations, who

* Collier's *Church History*, viii., 444. Kennett's *Complete History*, iii., 255. Before this time the clergy had no votes for members of Parliament, but after the granting of subsidies in Convocation was done away, all clergymen possessed of a freehold voted in the same way as laymen.

† Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 305.

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had hitherto not been made sharers in the troubles of the ministers, and to satisfy the demands of the clergy who considered themselves not to have sufficient powers,* a severe and persecuting Act was passed by the Parliament. Imprisonment and fines were enacted against every person above sixteen years of age who should be present at any meeting "under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion in other manner than is allowed by the liturgy or practice of the Church of England, where there are five persons more than the household." To inflict these pains and penalties required only the decision of a single Justice of the Peace, save in case of a third offence, a conviction for which by a jury involved banishment to the American plantations,† and if the convicted person returned without leave, subjected him to death. This was a barbarous Act, not to be justified in its principle, its provisions, or its mode of working, and was putting

* A copy of the Petition of the Clergy to the House of Commons, upon which, to some extent, the Conventicle Act was framed, is preserved among the *Tanner MSS.* They first acknowledge with gratitude what the Parliament had done for Uniformity. Then they complain of "a strange, prodigious race of men," who laboured to shake off the yoke of Government, both civil and ecclesiastical. They therefore pray, (1.) For severe laws against the Anabaptists. (2.) For the increase of the fine of twelvepence for not attending Church, according to the means of the person fined. (3.) For a more expeditious and inexpensive method of collecting the smaller tithes. (4.) For a more equal taxation. (5.) For the improvement of small livings in towns. (6.) For a more summary way of compelling the payment of Church-rates."—*Tanner MSS.*, 282, 48. It will be observed that the requirements of the clergy were very mild compared with the provisions of the Act.

† Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 308. Parkeri *Comm.*, p. 76.

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a fearful weapon into the hands of any captious magistrate who might feel himself aggrieved or annoyed by the neighbourhood of the professors of a stricter religion than his own. The dangers with which it threatened the followers of the Nonconformist divines appear to have chilled to some extent the zeal which had before prompted them to encourage their pastors to be confessors in a righteous cause, while the flocks only remained spectators of their trials; now the hearer was to be censured as well as the preacher, and the effect was to produce a falling off in the congregations which assembled by stealth in private houses, and a greater amount of *occasional conformity*, suspected persons resorting to their parish churches sufficiently often to save appearances.*

Occasional conformity.

Upon the conscientious dissenter, however, this Act brought down atrocious hardships. It was felt by many earnest-minded men that "the inviolable rights of human nature leave a man as much at his liberty to choose a pastor for his soul, as a physician for his body, or a lawyer for his estate."† Yet for the exercise of this inviolable right, grave and sober men were treated like thieves and pickpockets, left to the mercy of (it might be) an ignorant and

Atrocious injustice of the Act.

* Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 399. Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 325. "My judgment was for holding communion with both parties, and ordinarily I went to some parish church, where I heard a learned minister that had not obtruded himself upon the people, but was chosen by them, as Dr. Wilkins, Dr. Tillotson, Dr. West, and I joined also in the common prayers of the Church."—Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 437.

† Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 271.

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vindictive justice, cast into filthy gaols, and ruinously fined.*

Sufferings of the Quakers.

In the persecution thus inflicted, however, those properly described as Nonconformists were not the chief sufferers. The Baptists and Quakers, whose principles led them more openly to resist the civil power, were seized in the greatest numbers to fill the prisons. Especially the Quakers, who gloried in their sufferings, and ostentatiously provoked arrest and imprisonment, gave the officers of the law so much employment by their continual captures, that Baxter confesses the soberer sects enjoyed a comparative immunity.†

Discontent in the country.

At this time there were constant rumours of plots and meditated insurrections in the country.‡ The old officers of Cromwell's army were discontented, and in continual correspondence with one another. Men were everywhere complaining of the burdens of taxation, the immorality of the Court, and the vexatious policy pursued in matters of religion. The Romanists were openly boasting of their influence and prospects, and the Court plainly showed its preference for them. The King was being gradually withdrawn from the influence of Lord Clarendon, and guided by men of no prin-

* "Whether men shall forfeit their goods and liberties for a dissent in religion by any Gospel rule or rules of Christian equity is a great question, and the negative past doubt as yet."—*Conformist's Fourth Plea for Nonconformists*, p. 28.

† Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 436.

‡ Clarendon's *Life*, p. 1114. See, for the fullest details, the *Commentaries* of Bishop Parker, b. i., who seems haunted with a perpetual suspicion of a plot. His assertions, however, are little to be trusted.

ciple, and of infamous character. A war was being precipitated with the Dutch, which the finances of the kingdom were utterly unable to meet, and in the prevailing discontent it was dangerous to attempt new taxes.

Proposal to sell toleration.

Under these circumstances it was proposed by some of the King's advisers to make capital out of the unfortunate religious differences, and to turn the terrors of the prevailing persecution to good account, by allowing all Nonconformists to purchase toleration at a certain assessment of yearly payment. This project was heartily opposed by the respectable ministers, Clarendon and Southampton, and by the bishops, some of whom were severely threatened for thwarting the King's prerogative. It was defeated in the House of Lords by the zeal and eloquence of the Chancellor, but the King, who seems to have set his heart on this new source of revenue, never looked upon him and his allies, the bishops, with the same eyes again.

King turned against the bishops.

"From that time," says Clarendon, "the King never treated any of the bishops with that respect as he had done formerly, and often spake of them too slightly; which easily encouraged others not only to mention their persons very negligently, but their function and religion itself as an invention to impose upon the free judgments and understandings of men. What was preached in the pulpit was commented on and derided in the chamber, and preachers acted, and sermons vilified as laboured discourses which the preachers made only to show their own parts and wit, without any other design

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than to be commended and preferred. These grew to be the subjects of the mirth and wit of the Court; and so much license was manifested in it that gave infinite scandal to those who observed it, and to those who received the reports of it."*

Zeal for the Church in the House of Commons.

Yet, in spite of the sneers of the Court, and the dislike of the King, the Church interest still predominated, especially in the House of Commons. Unfortunately, however, the zeal which desired to uphold and strengthen the Church was misdirected, and showed itself by increasing and aggravating the penal acts intended to crush the Nonconformists. To the Conventicle Act of last year, which involved the laity in pains and penalties for listening to a Nonconforming divine, was now added an act known as "The Five Mile Act," directed with peculiar and vexatious severity against the ministers. The preamble of the bill set forth "That divers parsons and others in holy orders, not having subscribed the Act of Uniformity, have taken upon them to preach in unlawful assemblies, and to instil the poisonous principles of schism and rebellion into the hearts of his Majesty's subjects, to the great danger of the Church and kingdom. Be it, therefore, enacted that all such Nonconformist ministers shall take the following oath, 'I, A. B., do swear that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the King; and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms, by his authority, against his person or against those that are commissioned by him, in pursuance

The Five Mile Act.

* Clarendon's *Life*, p. 1131.

of such commissions; and that I will not, at any time, endeavour any alteration of government, either in Church or State.' And all such Nonconformist ministers shall not, after March 24, 1666, unless in passing the road, come or be within five miles of any city, town corporate, or borough that sends members to Parliament; or within five miles of any parish, town, or place wherein they have, since the Act of Oblivion, been parson, vicar, or lecturer, &c., or when they have preached in any conventicle on any pretence whatsoever, before they have taken and subscribed the aforesaid oath before the Quarter Sessions for the county in open court; upon forfeiture, for every such offence, of the sum of forty pounds. Any two justices of the peace, upon oath made before them of any offence committed against this act, are empowered to commit the offender to prison for six months without bail or mainprize."* This act was passed at Oxford, to which place the Parliament had retired while the Plague was desolating London, and is thus often described as the Oxford Act.

Bishop Earle opposes this Act.

It is needless to waste words in condemnation of its vexatious and vindictive spirit; but it is well to record that some good men, devout lovers of the Church of England, and no Latitudinarians in their views, strongly condemned it. Dr. Earle, Bishop of Salisbury, who, in old times had, with Sheldon, and Morley, and Hyde, and Chillingworth, been one of the favoured guests of the great Lord

* Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 329. Parkeri *Comm.*, p. 86.

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Falkland, protested strongly against the Act, and with his dying breath denounced its policy.* "He was the man," says Burnet, "of all the clergy, for whom the King had the greatest esteem. He had been his sub-tutor, and followed him in all his exile with so clear a character, that the King could never see or hear of any one thing amiss in him. So he who had a secret pleasure in finding out anything that lessened a man esteemed for piety, yet had a value for him beyond all the men of his order." † But the mild wisdom of Earle was overruled by the short-sighted zeal of Sheldon and Ward,‡ and another persecuting law was added to those which already disgraced our code.

Richard Baxter committed under it.

With regard to the working of this Act, it is sufficient to say that Richard Baxter, who, whatever he may have been as a disputant, was a peaceable man in ordinary life; a man who recommended and practised occasional conformity, and withdrew himself as much as possible from preaching after it was forbidden; a man the most eminent in all the country for his practical and devotional works and ministerial labours, was, under this law, committed to gaol by the *mittimus* of two justices, and had it not been for an informality in the document, would have had to remain the specified term of six months.

Cruelty of the law.

The cruelty of the Act was certainly ingenious.

* *Conformist's First Plea for the Nonconformists*, p. 39.

† Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 152.

‡ "Sheldon and Ward were the bishops that acted and argued most for this Act."—Burnet.

It was in the market towns that the followers and supporters of the dissentient ministers were chiefly to be found; to exile them to the country was to deprive them of all means of livelihood; and thus many of them saw starvation staring them in the face.* All hope of usefulness was also cut off from them, and many of them determined openly to resist, and to continue boldly preaching in their old localities until they were committed to prison. Others, however, thought they could reconcile it with their consciences to take the oath if it could be clearly laid down by those in authority that by "endeavour the alteration of the government in Church or State" was meant *unlawful endeavour*. This, at the request of Dr. Bates, was stated by Chief Justice Bridgeman to be the sense of the oath; and, on the strength of this opinion, Bates and about twenty more Nonconforming ministers took the required pledge.† But the vast majority refused, and thus laid themselves open to an annoying and degrading persecution.

Some Nonconformist ministers take the oath.

It is to be hoped, indeed, that the motives suggested by Burnet did not operate in the passing of this act, and that the friends of the Church were not really actuated by a jealousy of the labours and success of the Nonconforming divines in London during the pressure of the disastrous Plague.‡ To

* Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 312. Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 331. "These penalties were next to death, and, I conceive, proved the death of many."—*Conformist's First Plea*, &c., p. 21.

† Calamy, Neal, Baxter, Burnet.

‡ "By the weekly bills, there appeared to have died above one hundred and threescore thousand persons; and many who could

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attribute these sort of motives is easy, to disprove them impossible, but the High Church party has a right to be credited with doing what they thought best for the interests of the Church, though we, who have learnt from experience to disbelieve in the dangers of toleration, cannot subscribe either to the justice or the wisdom of their policy.

compute very well, concluded that there were in truth *double that number* who died; and that in one week, when the bill mentioned only six thousand, there had, in truth, fourteen thousand died."—Clarendon.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

Nonconformists rise in popularity—Impeachment of Lord Clarendon—Buckingham favours the Nonconformists—Difficulties of the Church—Fresh attempt at comprehension—Dr. Wilkins's scheme—Thrown into a bill for Parliament—Sir Matthew Hale—Scheme defeated—Patrick's *Friendly Debate*—Parker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*—Answers to Parker's book—King's tortuous policy to Nonconformists—Second Conventicle Act—Its character—Causes which contributed to the passing of the act—Archbishop Sheldon upholds this infamous law—Profligacy of the government—King's declaration of indulgence—Hesitation of the Nonconformists to take advantage of it—They thank the King—Patriotic spirit of the Commons—The King obliged to yield—House of Commons attempts relief for Protestant Dissenters—Bill lost by opposition of the Lords—Severity towards Dissenters varies—Great danger of Popery—Increase of persecution—Compared with the persecution under Laud—Policy of Lord Danby's government—Government aid in the rebuilding of St. Paul's—Sancroft, Dean of St. Paul's—First plans for the rebuilding work intrusted to Dr. Christopher Wren—Sancroft augments poor benefices—Death and character of Archbishop Sheldon—Sancroft Primate—Sancroft exhorts the Duke of York to change his faith.

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THE Parliament seemed resolutely bent on upholding the cause of the Church by the policy of coercion, but their severity was little likely to promote the objects aimed at. Several causes indeed now contributed to raise the Nonconformists in public esti-

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mation, and to remove some of that unpopularity with which they were regarded immediately after the Restoration. The first of these was their bold and active service in London during the time of the Plague, when many of the parish clergy fled, and their pulpits were occupied by some of the more zealous of the ejected ministers. Acts of courage and self-sacrifice must needs commend themselves even to the scoffer and infidel, and from their bold conduct at this trying time, the Nonconformists obtained, as they deserved, great praise. Again, after the fearful Fire of London, which followed so rapidly on the Plague, when eighty-nine churches were burnt, among which was the vast pile of Old St. Paul's, when the services of the Church ceased in so many parishes from want of a place wherein the minister could officiate, the Nonconforming ministers pressed into the void, and assembled congregations without let or reproach.* Men's minds were much impressed at that period. It was generally thought that the end of the world was at hand,† and the zealous addresses and moving appeals of the Nonconformist ministers were listened to with much attention.

Impeachment of Lord Clarendon.

But that which principally raised the Nonconformists, was the withdrawal of the King's favour from Lord Clarendon, which was speedily followed by his impeachment and banishment, and the rise into power and influence of the second Duke of Buckingham. It was the policy of this minister,

* Baxter's *Autobiography*, iii., 19.
† Burnet's *Life of Hale*.

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Buckingham favours the Nonconformists.

himself a libertine of unexampled profligacy, to favour the dissentients from the Church, and to use them as a power against the party opposed to him in politics.* The King, whose sole religious interest seems to have been to procure a toleration for the Romanists, readily lent himself to these views. Rejoicing to be delivered from the stern virtue and business habits of Lord Clarendon, he was ready to make any concessions to procure ease and freedom for licentiousness. Thus while they made themselves merry at the expense of the ministers in private, in public, the more powerful courtiers paid them deference, and extolled their virtues. Bishop Morley, who had been clerk of the closet, now had to give way to men of laxer views, and Crofts, and afterwards Blandford, succeeded him.† The ministers openly held their meetings in London, and the Five Mile Act was for the present a dead letter.‡ At the opening of Parliament the King recommended measures of relief for the Nonconformists, but the House of Commons replied by petitioning for the more strict execution of the penal laws. The King became more and more exasperated against the Church. "The clergy," said he, to Sheldon, "will do nothing, and will have me do everything; and

* Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 171.

† Baxter's *Autobiography*, iii., 22. "Crofts was a warm, devout man, but of no discretion in his conduct, so he lost ground quickly. He used much freedom with the King, but it was in the wrong place, not in private, but in the pulpit."—Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 174.

‡ Baxter, u. s. Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 337.

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most of them do worse than if they did nothing."*

Difficulties of the Church.

But besides the taunts and sneers of the Court, and the ill-judged assistance of its friends in Parliament, the Church had other evils to contend with of still greater magnitude. A mocking atheism was the mode of the times, and every holy thing was the subject of scurrilous jests.† A gross sensuality polluted the morals of the country, while by the Corporation Act, men were obliged to qualify for office by receiving the Lord's Supper. What greater pollution could law enact, than this which turned the highest Christian mystery into a degrading and frivolous civil test? or how could the Church suffer under a greater scandal than to be obliged to lend herself to such ignominy? The Nonconformist divines, if they had none of the favours, were also exempt from the shackles of the State, and with their gathered congregations, where all at least made the profession of piety, contrasted favourably with the formalism and hypocrisy too prevalent in the Church. The ejections of St. Bartholomew's Day caused a sudden and large demand for men in holy orders, at a time when the Universities were scantily furnished, and few suitable candidates were to be had. Hence, a large number of men were brought into the ministry of the Church very unfit for their holy calling. Sermons began to be in

* Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 175.

† See Burnet's *Life of Hale*, and *The Causes of the Decay of Christian Piety*, by the author of *The Whole Duty of Man.* (London, 1672.)

vogue full of stilted phrases and ridiculous tropes and metaphors.* The Puritanical style had been to overload the sermon with Scripture, the modern fashion was to ignore Scripture and reason from the nature of things.† In the country clergy, this inedifying style of preaching combined with an excess of poverty and meanness of living, to expose them to the ridicule of the scorner.‡ Livings of twenty or thirty pounds a year were esteemed valuable pieces of preferment; the clergyman was worse paid than the day labourer, and valued accordingly.§ That clergymen pinched with poverty at home, without books or literary tastes, should be ready to accept the invitation to join a party at the tavern is scarce to be wondered at, and hence many scandals and mischiefs to the Church. But it is the prevalence of these drawbacks and difficulties which makes the steady onward progress of

* *Causes of the Contempt of the Clergy*, p. 38, sq. Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, p. 20.

† *Nonconformist*. "Our minister never says anything, but he quotes a place of Scripture for it. All his sermons are nothing else, whereas yours are but rational discourses."—*Friendly Debate*, p. 5 (6th edition).

‡ "As the solemnity of the place besides the consecration of it to Almighty God, does much influence upon the devotion of the people, so also the quality and condition of the person that reads the service. And although there be not that acknowledged difference between a priest comfortably provided for, and him that is in the thorns and briars, as there is between one placed in great dignity and authority, and one in less, yet such a difference the people will make, that they will scarce hearken to what is read by the one, and yet be most religiously attentive to the other."—*Causes of Contempt of the Clergy*, p. 89.

§ Chamberlayne's *Angliæ Notitia*, p. 267-8 (14th edition). *Causes of Contempt of the Clergy*, p. 94.

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the Church of England only the more remarkable, and shows that she holds within her elements of life, and truth, and power which cannot be quenched.

Fresh attempt at comprehension.

The rise of Buckingham, and the policy of favour and indulgence to the Nonconformists adopted by the government, produced, at the beginning of the year 1668, a more serious attempt at comprehension than any which had been made since the time of the Restoration. The actors in this were, on the one side, Baxter and Manton, and, on the other, Dr. Wilkins and his curate, Mr. Burton. Baxter had previously made known his sentiments in favour of a comprehension to take in the Presbyterians, combined with a limited toleration for the other sects which held substantially the doctrine of the Church of England. This would of course exclude Papists and Socinians, for the former of whom it was, that the Court really desired a toleration to be conceded. Still it was doubtless considered that the principle once granted, the Romish religion could not be long kept in an exceptional proscription, and hence the Lord Keeper, Bridgeman,* informed Baxter, that he thought a foundation for agreement might be arrived at, and desired him to send in the terms of comprehension to which he would agree. The

* "He was a man of great integrity, and had very serious impressions of religion on his mind. He had been always on the side of the Church, yet had great tenderness for the Nonconformists; and the bishops having all declared for Lord Clarendon, except one or two, he and the new scene of the ministry were inclined to favour them."—Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 171.

terms offered did not differ essentially from those tendered at the settling of the King's first Declaration. They included bishop Usher's model of Episcopacy, and the confirmation of the concessions made in the original Declaration. The Nonconformists had not learnt to omit or abandon anything from the pressure of a five years' persecution. They were still the same in tone, feeling, and scrupulousness, as at the Savoy Conference. But they were not now opposed to the unyielding strictness of Morley, or to the logical acuteness of Gunning. The divine with whom they had to treat was a man of a different stamp. Wilkins took a philosophical view of the matters in dispute, and intimated that a concession more or less was of no great importance. The chief point to be considered was what would pass the Parliament.*

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Dr. Wilkins's scheme.

Upon a careful review of the whole matter, he drew up a paper which he thought might at once satisfy the Dissenters and be accepted by the legislature.† Churchmen in the present day will,

* Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 321.

† This paper contained a scheme for *comprehension*, and one for *indulgence* or *toleration*. I.—With regard to comprehension, it was offered (1.) That such persons as, in the late times of disorder, had been ordained by Presbytery, should be admitted to the exercise of the ministry by the imposition of the hands of the bishop, with this or the like form of words: "Take thou authority to preach the Word of God and to minister the Sacraments in any congregation of the Church of England where thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto." (2.) That all persons to be admitted to any ecclesiastical function or dignity, or the employment of a schoolmaster (after the oaths of allegiance and supremacy) shall (instead of all former subscriptions) be required to subscribe this or the like form of words: "I, A. B., do hereby

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probably, be ready to recognise the Providential guidance of our Church as in nothing more conspicuous than in the way in which these schemes of comprehension, now and for some time forward the

profess and declare that I do approve the doctrines, worship, and government established in the Church of England, as containing all things necessary to salvation; and that I will not endeavour by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any doctrine contrary to that which is so established; and I do hereby promise that I will continue in the communion of the Church of England, and will not do anything to disturb the peace thereof." (3.) That the gesture of kneeling at the Sacrament (*sic*) and the use of the Cross in Baptism, and bowing at the name of Jesus, may be left indifferent or taken away. (4.) That in case it be thought fit to review and alter the Liturgy and canons *for the satisfaction of Dissenters*, that then every person admitted to preach upon some Lord's day shall solemnly and publicly read the Liturgy, declare his assent to the lawfulness of the use of it, and promise to use it.

[With a view to the alteration of the Liturgy, it was proposed —To alter the Baptismal service so as not to assert the doctrine of Baptismal regeneration. To alter the Confirmation service so as not to imply any special gift in the laying on of hands. To alter the Burial service, so as to express no sure and certain hope for the departed. To omit the responsal prayers from the Liturgy; to use Pater-noster and Gloria Patri only once; the prayer, "Lord, have mercy upon us," only once; to omit the Communion service when there is no Communion; the collects, epistles, and gospels except on certain holidays; to abandon the Commination service, the service for Visitation of the Sick, the Apocryphal Lessons, the old version of the Psalms, the hymns in the Ordinal, and to make some alterations in the Catechism.]

II. With regard to indulgence or toleration, it was offered— (1.) That *Protestants* should have liberty for public worship in places to be built by themselves. (2.) The names of teachers and congregations to be registered. (3.) Every one thus registered, be disabled from public office, but shall fine for offices of burden. (4.) Shall be exempt from legal penalties which are inflicted on those who don't attend parish churches. (5.) Shall be exempt from confiscations and fines, provided they pay all public duties to the parish where they live.—Baxter's *Autobiography*, iii., 23, sq.

most ordinary topics of our Church history, were, one after another, defeated. Every one of them was a peril to the Church, and a peril subtly disguised, because they seemed to come recommended by Christian charity and the purest principles of the Gospel. But it was the same great fundamental error which made, on the one hand, persecutors; on the other, Latitudinarians. The one party strove by coercion to force men to unity, the other by concession to allure them to it. But if, as experience seems to teach us, the preventing differences of opinion be impossible, the former would merely embitter and exasperate; the latter only flatter and encourage opponents. It was long before the Church could learn the simple wisdom of leaving dissentients to themselves, and cultivating the energies of her own faithful people. But during this era, when churchmen of all sorts held some sort of conformity necessary, and only differed as to its terms; when the High Churchman was for exacting his own standard, the Latitudinarian for coming down to that of the dissenter, when the question seemed to be whether "the Church of England should submit to the Dissenters, or the Dissenters to her," * happily our Creeds and Formularies were preserved intact and inviolate. The long catena of *enlightened* divines, from Wilkins to Hoadly, willing as they all were to tamper with what we now most venerate, did not advance further than intentions and attempts; providentially, the Church of England was spared their success.

* Stillingfleet's *Unreasonableness of Separation*. Preface.

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Thrown into a bill for Parliament.

The terms which Dr. Wilkins was commissioned by the Lord Keeper to offer to the Dissenters were, after they had been sufficiently canvassed, thrown into a bill by the skilful hands of Sir Matthew Hale, with a view to their being laid before Parliament. This great and good man took a deep interest in everything connected with religion and the Church. Hale was one of those noble-hearted devout laymen whose names lend a lustre to the Church of England. Like Browne, and Evelyn, and Boyle, and Nelson, he was thoroughly embued with the true spirit of the Church, while he was tender-hearted towards those who differed from his own views, and anxious to promote their best interests. He thought that this would be done by relaxing the terms of conformity; and hence, though he very seldom took any part in political matters, on this occasion he departed from his rule. "He set about the project," says Burnet, "with the magnanimity peculiar to himself; and though he was much censured by many of his own side, and seconded by very few, he pushed it as far as he could." *

Sir Matthew Hale.

Scheme defeated.

Before, however, the bill could be brought into Parliament, Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, the most active prelate of the High Church School, obtained intelligence of what was intended, and organised an opposition.† The House of Commons, in no good temper with the Court on other matters, was

* Burnet's *Life of Hale*. Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 540.

† Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 322.

determined at once to quash the project. It came to the extraordinary vote that no bill, having comprehension for its object, should be received.* A Proclamation was then obtained from the fickle King for putting the penal laws in force, and persecution which had been almost laid to sleep, recommenced with fresh vigour.†

Patrick's *Friendly Debate.*

In addition to the coercive laws thus revived, new weapons were also now brought to bear upon the Nonconformists. Two acute writers took up their pens on the side of the Church to endeavour to persuade the dissentients with reason, or shame them with ridicule. Simon Patrick, who ranked with Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and Lloyd, as one of the popular preachers of the day, published a dialogue, called a *Friendly Debate*, between a Conformist and Nonconformist, full of sharp and cutting attacks upon the Dissenters and their teaching, with copious illustrations from their published writings. In this book the Conformist, as might be expected, has it all his own way, his opponent's part being limited to very short, and sometimes very convenient interlocutions; but the book took greatly with the public,‡ and soon ran through six editions.

Parker's *Ecclesiastical Polity.*

Another attack of a similar character was made by a man of a different stamp from Patrick, and was more thought of and far more mischievous.

* Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 176. Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, p. 42. *Parliamentary History*, iv., 415, sq.

† Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 344.

‡ Baxter's *Autobiography*, iii., 39. Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 176.

Chap. XXVII. 1669.

Samuel Parker had been a railing Puritan, and was now a railing churchman.* He was a man of a keen and vigorous wit, an unscrupulous and damaging adversary. He knew the weak points of the men whom he attacked, and he assailed them with unhesitating virulence. "He wrote," says Baxter, "the most scornfully and rashly, the most profanely and cruelly, against the Nonconformists, of any man who ever assaulted them." The object of his *Discourse on Ecclesiastical Polity* was to establish that "the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions issue from the same necessity of nature and are founded upon the same reason of things," that the prince has an absolute and uncontrollable power over his subjects' consciences in matters of religion; and that it is the rankest folly, audacity, and rebellion to resist the ecclesiastical settlement which he ordains. The treatise is composed with nervous vigour and in a singularly pure style, but it is one of a nature to disgust all good and thoughtful men. Matthew Hale was much offended at it, as intended "to expose the Nonconformists to the scorn and contempt of the age, in a wanton and petulant style. He thought such writers wounded the Christian religion through the sides of those who differed from them."

Dr. Owen attempted to answer this able but vin-

* Samuel Parker culminated as Romanising or Romish Bishop of Oxford under King James. He wrote a Latin treatise, in five books, called *Commentaries*, on the affairs of his own time—a work full of falsehoods and malicious attacks on the Nonconformists.

dictive book, but, in his reply, Parker crushed him by unfortunate quotations from the Doctor's sermons before Cromwell. At length, however, the witty, though somewhat profane, advocate for Conformity was beat at his own weapons by the facetious skill of Andrew Marvell, "the liveliest droll of the age."*

Chap. XXVII. 1669.

Answers to Parker's book.

Just before Parliament met this year, the King, desiring to keep alive the hopes of the Nonconformists, and to fix them on himself, sent instructions to some of the leading ministers to prepare a humble and dutiful address to him, acknowledging the liberty which they enjoyed under his government, his clemency, and goodness towards them. When this loyal document was presented to him, Charles graciously assured the ministers that he was much beholden to them for their dutiful sentiments, and would do all he could for their further relief.† But while he thus endeavoured to assure them of his personal favour, he by no means desired, even if he had been able, to procure them any real relief in Parliament. The sanctioning persecuting laws against the Dissenters there, served a twofold object. It bribed the Commons to grant a supply to his necessities, and it showed the Nonconformists that their only hope was in him, and the exercise of his dispensing power. Thus, in spite of his late assurances to the ministers, he agreed to pass a new law against conventicles, and the Commons voted him a supply.

King's tortuous policy towards Nonconformists.

* Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 176. Burnet's *Life of Hale*. Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 539. Baxter's *Autobiography*, iii., 39.

† Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 322.

Chap. XXVII. 1670.

Second Conventicle Act.

Accordingly, in the next session passed the second Conventicle Act, which, though milder in its penalties than the former Act, was more searching and more vexatious in its working. The King scrupled not even to show himself desirous for its passing, and requested Bishop Wilkins not to oppose it; to which the bishop replied, that "both as an Englishman and a bishop he was bound to oppose it."*

Its character.

If the King indeed desired that the Nonconformists should be exasperated by the persecution of the Parliament into making unreservedly common cause with the Papists in seeking for toleration from his dispensing power,† there could scarcely have been passed a law better suited for his purpose. The new Conventicle Act provided, that any persons above sixteen years of age who should be present at a religious meeting where more than five were assembled, should he fined five shillings for the first offence, and ten shillings for the second: that the minister should be fined twenty pounds for the

* Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 185. Dr. Wilkins owed his advancement to the See of Chester to the favour of Buckingham. Archbishop Sheldon was much opposed to his promotion.—Pope's *Life of Ward*, p. 54.

† There is another and more secret explanation of the King's crooked policy in this matter. On June 6, 1670, Colbert thus writes from England to the King of France:—"There is nothing, however, yet determined for the principal point, and they don't even pretend to fix it till they return to London, and see what may follow from the severity with which the King designs to make the last Act of Parliament against the meetings of the Sectaries be observed; and *he hopes that their disobedience will give him the easier means of increasing the force of his troops;* and coming speedily to the end he proposes."—Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, i., 106.

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first, forty for the second offence; the owner of the building or land, twenty pounds. Information of any meeting might be made to a justice, whose record of the fact was to be *taken for a legal conviction*, and the fines levied by distress. Houses, where meetings were suspected to be held, might be forcibly broken into, and the persons taken into custody. Justices of the Peace were to be fined five pounds for a refusal to act under this law, and all the clauses of the Act were to be interpreted in a sense the most favourable to the suppression of conventicles, and to the bearing harmless all those who should be employed in it. "The wit of man," says the Puritan historian, not without justice, "could hardly invent anything short of capital punishment more cruel and inhuman."* The encouragement given to informers, who were to receive part of the fines, and whose testimony might be received and acted on without the accused party having the opportunity of contradicting it; the atrocious clause which, in defiance of the rules of English law, gave the prosecutor the benefit of the doubt, and saved him harmless in any outrage which he might commit, are foul blots on our statute-book.

Causes which contributed to the passing of the Act.

That public opinion could for a moment tolerate such a law, that any Christian prelate could vote for it, any English gentleman enforce it, shows us that the exasperations, the fears, the dangers of the late troubles, were still filling the minds of all.†

* Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 351.

† "Revenge and fear seem to have been the unmixed passions

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Everybody also believed at that moment in some secret and terrible peril from Popery, and many a zealous Protestant dissenter would suffer contentedly and gladly, provided, by his endurance, he might secure an equal rigour for the hated Romanist. So long as the penal laws were acquiesced in by the country, the Romanist must needs be bound by them as well as the Protestant, and "I will never be one of them," says Richard Baxter, "who by any new pressures shall consent to petition for the Papists' liberty. No craft of Jesuits or prelates shall make me believe that it is necessary for the Nonconformists to take this upon themselves." *

Archbishop Sheldon upholds this infamous law.

Upon the reputations of Archbishop Sheldon and Bishop Ward,† the supporting and enforcing this infamous law inflict a deep disgrace. The Primate could even venture to recommend its diligent working to the bishops of his province in a circular, which concluded with the expression of his belief that the full carrying out of a law which grossly outrages every principle of religion and justice, would be "to the glory of God, the welfare of the Church, the praise of his Majesty and Government, and the happiness of the whole kingdom." ‡ So speaks the orator of the Inquisition when he would

that excited the Church party against those whose former superiority they remembered, and whose disaffection and hostility it was impossible to doubt."—Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, ii., 48.

* Baxter's *Autobiography*, iii., 36.

† "'Tis true he was for the Act against Conventicles, and laboured much to get it to pass."—Pope's *Life of Ward*, p. 68.

‡ Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 353. Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, ii., 82.

stir up the tired magistrate to order some new *auto-da-fé*.

Profligacy of the Government.

Yet it seemed almost to make intolerance and persecution respectable in that they ranged men in opposition to the most infamous Government which ever degraded the country. The bishops were at least all in antagonism to the policy of the profligate clique which now directed the counsels of the King, and which, under the name of the Cabal, is doomed to lasting contempt.* The Church and Parliament were popular in spite of their harsh usage of dissenters, because they seemed to be the only bulwarks to withstand Popery, absolute power, the grossest public dishonesty, and paid truckling to France. The King was governed by prostitutes and adventurers, the Duke of York was known to be a Papist, robbery and piracy were adopted as State measures,† and with a palpable view towards absolute power and the legalisation of Romanism, the King published his Declaration of Indulgence of March 15, 1672.

King's Declaration of indulgence.

The tone of this document was fair, and its provisions wise. It recognised the ascendency of the Church, and required exact conformity in all its ministers; it suspended all the penal laws against all sorts of dissentients alike, freely allowing the public meetings of all Protestant Dissenters, and the worship of the Romanists in private houses.

* "This period is generally reckoned one of the most disgraceful in the annals of our monarchy."—Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, ii., 69.

† In the closing of the Exchequer, and the attack on the Dutch fleet before declaration of war.

Chap. XXVII. 1672.

Hesitation of the Nonconformists to take advantage of it.

But could a good and acceptable gift be accepted by the zealous Protestant, from such hands, with such a purpose, and in such company? Would not its acceptance be the abandoning of the legal safeguards of the State, and surrendering the most cherished privileges of the nation? This now became the serious and difficult question which Protestant Dissenters had to decide. So important a matter produced a flood of pamphlets which canvassed in all their bearings the questions of schism, the dispensing power, the danger of Romanism, the policy of persecution.* "Great endeavours," says Burnet, "were made by the Court to persuade the Nonconformists to make addresses and compliments on the Declaration. But few were so blind as not to see what was aimed at by it." †

They thank the King.

The attempts of the Court, however, backed, as is asserted, by considerable bribes,‡ were successful. The Presbyterians by the mouth of Dr. Manton, the most verbose and voluminous of their divines, who had himself been recently in prison under the Oxford Act, thanked the King. Dr. Owen drew up an address for the Independents, in which he compares Charles to the King of heaven, in that by "his power, wisdom, and goodness, he relieved the

* Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 335. Orme's *Life of Owen*, p. 350.

† Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 206.

‡ This is asserted by Burnet on the authority of Stillingfleet, who told him that Matthew Pool, the author of the *Synopsis*, acknowledged to having received £50 for two years."—Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 206.

minds of his peaceable subjects from fear, distress, and distracting anxieties."*

Patriotic spirit of the Commons.

If this, however, was the mind of the Nonconformist ministers who forgot for a moment their dread of Popery in their present relief from persecution, it was by no means the view of the House of Commons. In that assembly, whose spirit was truly patriotic, though the wisdom of their measures was questionable, there was a general feeling of indignation at the audacious attempt of the King to dispense with statute laws. Even the Presbyterian members spoke, and voted against such an indulgence as this.† Aware of the secret intrigues of the Court with Louis XIV., to destroy and divide Holland, and to re-establish the Romish religion in England, the country party were energetic in their denunciation of the King's dangerous act.‡ By a majority of fifty-two, the Commons voted that the King's prerogative in matters ecclesiastical does not extend to the repealing of Acts of Parliament, and addressed him to recall his Declaration. The King answered the address by a remonstrance against their denying his ecclesiastical power. The Com-

* Orme's *Life of Owen*, p. 353. Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 206.

† *Parl. Hist.*, iv., 517, sq. Hallam's *Const. Hist.*, ii., 86, note. Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 372.

‡ Mr. Vaughan said, "If this Declaration signifies anything, the Church of England signifies nothing. The King may pardon murder or treason, but not give license to do them. This Declaration is a repeal of forty Acts of Parliament, no way repealable but by the same authority which made them. It is point blank opposite to the laws; they and this cannot consist." Sir C. Harbord said, "Laws must be altered by the same authority they were ordained by. It has done him more hurt among his father's friends, than good to those indulged."—*Parl. Hist.*, iv., 517.

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mons replied by plainly stating that it was beyond his power to suspend any law.*

The King obliged to yield.

A collision seemed imminent,† but the King, never in earnest about anything except his pleasures, yielded. He abandoned and withdrew his declaration, cast aside his policy for the toleration of Romanism, agreed to a Test Act, which made it impossible for any Romanist to hold office,‡ and handed over the Nonconformists to the tender mercies of the Commons.

House of Commons attempt relief for Protestant Dissenters.

But so much favour had the Protestant Dissenters earned in the House by their ready support of the Test Act, and the anti-Romanist policy of the Commons, that they were now very nearly obtaining from the gratitude of Parliament that

* "Your Majesty having claimed a power to suspend penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical, and which your Majesty does still seem to assert in the said answer 'to be entrusted in the Crown, and never questioned in the reigns of any of your ancestors,' in this we humbly conceive your Majesty hath been very much misinformed, since no such power was ever claimed, or exercised by any of your Majesty's predecessors, and if it should be admitted, might tend to the interrupting of the free course of the laws, and altering of the legislative powers which hath always been acknowledged to reside in your Majesty, and in your two Houses of Parliament."—*Parl. Hist.*, iv., 551.

† Hume, vii., 503. Burnet's *Own Time*, 230, sq. Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, i., 135. It appears that France counselled the withdrawal of the Declaration of Indulgence.

‡ Besides the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, every person holding office, civil or military, was to receive the communion according to the rites of the Anglican Church, and to make an express Declaration against the doctrine of Transubstantiation. *Parl. Hist.*, iv., 561.—Upon this law passing, the Duke of York resigned his post as Lord High Admiral, and Lord Clifford withdrew from the administration. Mr. Hallam seems to consider that the circumstances of the time justified this objectionable law.—*Const. Hist.*, ii., 87.

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just measure of relief which had been so long denied to them. A bill was brought in, which provided: (1.) "That ease should be given to his Majesty's Protestant subjects, dissenting in matters of religion, who shall subscribe the Articles of the doctrine of the Church of England, and shall take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. (2.) That the said Protestant subjects be eased from all pains and penalties for not coming to church. (3.) That the clause in the late Act of Uniformity for declaring the assent and consent be taken away by this bill. (4.) That the said Protestant subjects be eased from all pains and penalties for meeting together for performance of any religious exercises. (5.) That every preacher shall give notice of the place where he intends to hold such his meeting to the Quarter Sessions, where in open Court he shall make such subscription, and take such oaths as aforesaid, and receive from thence a certificate thereof, where all such proceedings shall remain upon record. (6.) Doors and passages of all houses and places where the said Dissenters shall meet shall be always open during the time of such exercise. (7.) Dissenters refusing to take the churchwarden's oaths, to find a substitute and pay him."*

Bill lost by the opposition of the Lords.

If this Act had passed, it would have been a great boon to Nonconformists, and have left them with few reasonable causes of complaint. Unfortunately, however, some misunderstanding took place between the Lords and Commons, as to its provisions, and it fell to the ground. The bishops

* Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 374. *Parl. Hist.*, iv., 553.

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would very naturally and very properly oppose the clause which dispensed with the Declaration of assent and consent to the Book of Common Prayer provided by the Act of Uniformity, but with this exception, the bill only set forth a fair toleration, and it is infinitely to be regretted that it did not pass into a law.

Severity towards Dissenters varies.

By the failure of this bill, the Nonconformists were again left to the severe handling of the coercive acts, enforced as they naturally would be in varying degrees of severity in different dioceses, and under different magistrates. Of the bishops besides the Primate, Ward (of Salisbury) and Gunning of Ely, were the most noted for their active severity.*

Great danger of Popery.

But Ward, as well as Morley, are soon found entertaining schemes for a comprehension,† so confounded and appalled did the most zealous churchmen become, by the imminent dangers from the intrigues of Papists, and the treachery of a profligate court‡. It is not indeed to be regretted, that the comprehension scheme in which Baxter again submitted proposals at the request of Lord Orrery, came to nothing, although it was without doubt deeply lamented by many zealous Christians at the time. Baxter, still true to his original views, and strongly opposed to toleration without comprehension, wished to tamper with the settlement of 1662, to allow men to hold preferment in the Church

* Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 354.

† Collier's *Church Hist.*, viii., 458. Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 342.

‡ The secret treaties by which Charles bound himself to turn Romanist for a sum of money, may be seen in Dalrymple.—*Memoirs*, vol. i.

without full conformity, and to make the ceremonies optional in their use. Tillotson and Stillingfleet appear to have favoured the scheme, but Morley was true to his Church principles, and did not consider himself justified in making such a sacrifice for expediency.* There is very little doubt that any scheme sanctioned by the bishops, would at this moment have passed the House of Commons. Churchmen began to look upon all Protestant Dissenters as their natural allies against the dreaded Papist, and would have willingly accorded them relief.

Increase of persecution.

On the other hand, the King disappointed in the co-operation which he had expected from the Dissenters in his project for a universal toleration, and angry at their support of the Test Act, was quite willing to let the laws enacted by that House of Commons to which they showed so much regard, take full effect, and the exasperated Romanists were forward to act as informers.† A proclamation ordered the enforcing of the penal laws, and some over-zealous churchmen were but too eager to avail themselves of the opportunity. Baxter was again arrested, but liberated on an informality, and others of the more noted ministers were fined and imprisoned. But the most severe effect of the laws was upon some poor but zealous brethren, who, out of a disinterested piety, allowed the pro-

* Baxter's *Autobiography*, iii., 110, 140. There appear to have been two attempts at agreement, one in 1674, and one in 1675. Baxter's proposals were nearly the same in both. It was in the latter that Dr. Tillotson was actively engaged.

† Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 379-80.

Chap. XXVII. 1674.

scribed meetings to be held in their houses. Fines of great severity were inflicted, and their goods and chattels ruthlessly seized and sold to pay the amount.* The persecution was certainly more from the State than the Church,† though dissent was the pretext, and there were doubtless hundreds of good churchmen who bitterly lamented it; but it cannot be denied that from its complicity with the ruthless policy of the State, a great stain rests upon the Church of this period.

Compared with the persecution of Laud.

Nevertheless, when we compare the working of the Conventicle Acts with the persecution under Archbishop Laud, by means of the Star Chamber and High Commission Court, the Church of the Restoration appears far less guilty than that of the period prior to the Rebellion. Under Laud, the persecution was by means of instruments, whose very existence was an outrage upon the liberties of the country, against the known will of Parliament, and by virtue of its abeyance, for the merest frivolities of gesture, or for the refusal to read in the public service what had never been sanctioned by the Church (*e.g.*, the *Book of Sports*). Under Charles II., the Parliament was the originator and zealous enforcer of the severities; they were defined by statute law; the voice of public opinion supported them, and most men from the dangers which they experienced and which they dreaded, believed in their necessity. As the Nonconformists

* See *Conformist's Fourth Plea for Nonconformists*, where the details of a number of flagrantly hard cases are given.

† Mr. Hallam, not over friendly to the Church, admits this. —*Const. Hist.*, ii., 47.

could not be comprehended, it was thought necessary that they should be restrained, and this course once begun, it was very hard to stop. "It is the natural consequence of restrictive laws," says our great philosophical historian, "to aggravate the disaffection which has served as their pretext, and thus to create a necessity for a legislature that will not retrace its steps to pass still onward in the course of severity."*

Policy of Lord Danby's government.

The Cabal ministry sunk amidst the contempt and suspicion of the country, and Lord Danby succeeded to office as "the patron of the Church party and the old cavaliers."† It became the policy of the Court to prevent the approximation of the Church and the Dissenters on the common ground of resistance to Popery. Bishop Morley and the High Church Prelates were again invited to Court, and every encouragement was given to the zealous to put the laws in execution against Nonconformists. In Parliament, a bill was introduced and passed the Lords, not without energetic protests from all lovers of liberty,‡ to impose the same test of a declaration of the unlawfulness of resisting the King, and of endeavouring any alteration of the Protestant religion established by law in the Church of England, and of the government of Church or State, upon Lords, Commons, and magistrates, which had before been imposed on civil and military officers and the clergy.§ It had

* Hallam's *Const. Hist.*, ii., 49.

† Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 248. ‡ *Parl. Hist.*, iv., 715.

§ See a severe criticism of this Test Act, and of the policy

Chap. XXVII. 1675.

been calculated by Lord Danby that any measure which should at the same time appear to restrain Popery and the Dissenters, would readily pass the House of Commons, but the members no longer regarded the Protestant Dissenters with the same dislike as formerly,* and their fear of Romanism led them to oppose a measure which might exasperate some of its strongest opponents. This feeling combined with a violent quarrel and altercation, which was then raging between the two Houses on matters of privilege, to procure the rejection of the new Test Bill.†

Government aid in the rebuilding of St. Paul's.

To give still more practical proofs of a care for the Church, the government now lent itself with vigour to the task of the rebuilding of St. Paul's Cathedral, which had been utterly destroyed in the late fire. A vast sum had been raised and expended on the restoration of old St. Paul's before the breaking out of the rebellion,‡ but the triumph of the Puritans stopped the work, the money remaining in the chest was seized and confiscated, and during the period of the troubles, the cathedral church was brought back to almost as complete a ruin as before the Episcopate of Laud.§

At this moment St. Paul's was happy in a dean who stands high on the glorious roll of great

which dictated it, in which the clergy are sharply handled, in Mr. Locke's *Letter of a Person of Quality to a Friend in the Country*, Printed in Locke's *Works*.

* Hallam, ii., 93. † *Parl. Hist.*, iv., 721.

‡ "Three parts of four were admirably restored even beyond their primitive beauty."—Gauden's *Sighs and Tears*, &c., p. 348.

§ D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, i., 136.

English churchmen, a man simple-hearted, devoted to his work, clear-headed, straightforward, liberal —William Sancroft. Appointed to the deanery in 1664, he had immediately given his attention to the work so much needed to restore the old Gothic church, but the disastrous Plague of the next year stopped his designs.

Sancroft, Dean of St. Paul's.

First plans for the rebuilding.

On August 27, 1666, we find this entry in the *Diary* of John Evelyn, who took a deep interest in such matters, both as a devout churchman and a man of taste and science. "I went to St. Paul's church, where, with Dr. Wren, Mr. Prat, Mr. May, Mr. Slingsby, Mr. T. Chicheley, the Bishop of London, the Dean of St. Paul's, and several expert workmen, we went about to survey the general decays of that ancient and venerable church, and to set down in writing the particulars of what was fit to be done with the charge thereof, giving our opinions from article to article. Finding the main building to recede outwards, it was the opinion of Mr. Chicheley and Mr. Prat that it had been so built *ab origine* for an effect in perspective in regard of the height, but I was, with Dr. Wren, quite of another judgment, and so we entered it; we plumb'd the uprights in several places. When we came to the steeple, it was deliberated whether it were not well enough to repair it only on its old foundations, with reservation to the four pillars; this Mr. Chicheley and Mr. Prat were also for, but we totally rejected it, and persisted that it required a new foundation, not only in regard of the necessity, but that the shape of what stood was very

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mean, and we had a mind to build it *with a noble cupola*, a form of church building not as yet known in England, but of wonderful grace; for this purpose we offered to bring in a plan and estimate, which, after much contest, was at last assented to, and that we should nominate a committee of able workmen to examine the present foundation. This concluded, we drew all up in writing, and so went with my Lord Bishop to the Dean's."

Whether we have cause to be grateful to Evelyn for advocating the "form of a cupola then unknown in England," in preference to the high spire which once surmounted the long Gothic aisles of the old church, is a point on which taste will probably never be uniform, but at any rate we owe much to Dean Sancroft for the energetic way in which he laboured at the restoration. The Fire, which followed within a week of Evelyn's inspection, reduced the church to a heap of rubbish, and the walls, judged unsafe by him and Wren, fell to the ground. The work of Inigo Jones was found to be very defective, and it was evident that an entirely new church had to be built. *

Work intrusted to Dr. Christopher Wren.

At this juncture, Dr. Christopher Wren, Professor of Astronomy, at Oxford, was summoned by the dean to undertake the work, bringing with him those excellent draughts and designs with which he had formerly favoured them; and, in another letter, the dean informs him that he, together with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, had come to the conclusion of framing

* D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, i., 141-2.

"a design, handsome and noble, and suitable to all the ends of it, and to the reputation of the city and nation, and to take it for granted that money will be had to accomplish it."* This spirited resolve was well seconded by the liberality with which he himself contributed to the work, and was justified by the ministry of Lord Danby imposing, for the purposes of the building fund, a tax upon every chaldron of coal brought to the port of London. †

Sancroft augments poor benefices.

But the sum which Dean Sancroft yearly set aside for the building fund, did not represent the whole of his benefactions to the cathedral church. The dean availed himself of the Act which had passed soon after the Restoration to enable ecclesiastical corporations to alienate impropriations for the benefit of the poorer benefices, and augmented the Vicarage of Sandon in Hertfordshire by a considerable grant out of the revenues of his deanery. ‡ When elevated to the highest dignity in the Church, Sancroft still kept this useful object in view, and, like Laud, had the interests of poor vicars ever at heart.§

Death and character of Archbishop Sheldon.

In November, 1677, Archbishop Sheldon died, a prelate whose character is, perhaps, best described as that of a political churchman. Urbane, liberal, polished, he was well suited in many respects to

* D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, i., 144.

† The first stone of the new church was laid in 1675, but the great work was not destined to reach completion for twenty-five years.

‡ D'Oyly's *Sancroft*, i., 148. In 1676, another Act was passed to confirm the previous one.—Collier, viii., 459.

§ D'Oyly's *Sancroft*, i., 189-90.

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take a leading position in the Church; the great nobles flocked to his well-appointed entertainments, and were delighted with his witty conversation. But as a Christian bishop he had serious defects. Parker, his chaplain and panegyrist, describes him as not setting so much weight on the acts of Christian worship, as on (what he considered) a useful and active life, and as undervaluing religion, properly so called, in comparison with benevolence and liberality.* But though without bigotry and without zeal, he nevertheless encouraged persecution with a view of crushing the Nonconformists as a power in the State. He was in favour neither of comprehension nor toleration; at the Savoy Conference he had scarcely deigned to attend, but it was known that he desired to make the door as narrow as possible, with the avowed purpose of excluding all Puritans from the Church. His policy may have been a wise one, but the means by which it was upheld are to be condemned, and his churchmanship seemed to be without the earnestness which entitles even errors to respect.

Sancroft Primate.

Sancroft, promoted to the primacy over the heads of all the bishops, was as devoted a churchman as his predecessor, but one of an entirely different stamp. He knew little of politics and the arts of courts, but he had early adopted High Church principles from conviction, reasoned upon them, suffered for them, and loved them. He was a sincere, earnest man, not so astute as Sheldon, but far more effective in the administration of his

* Parkeri *Comm.*, p. 36, sq.

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office. The cause of his promotion may probably be found in the interest of the Duke of York. At this moment the anti-Popery feeling in the country was excited to its utmost frenzy. The better-informed knew that there was a real danger in the base subservience of the King to Louis XIV., and were glad to stimulate by every means the No Popery cry.* To this the bishops had all, more or less, lent themselves, and the leading divines of the day, such as Tillotson and Stillingfleet, had taken a decided line in denouncing the danger of Popery. It is probable that Sancroft, a man of quiet and peaceable spirit, known to be an ardent loyalist, and presumed likely to lend himself to any stretch of the prerogative, may have been recommended to the King by the Duke of York, and, as he always appears to have been a favourite of Charles, easily obtained the promotion.

Sancroft exhorts the Duke of York to change his faith.

The Duke, indeed, if he did recommend him, was singularly mistaken in Sancroft's character, and the merit in his eyes, of his not having taken a prominent stand against Popery, was speedily taken away. Within a very short time after his elevation to the Primacy, the Archbishop, accompanied by Bishop Morley, now in his eighty-second year, sought an interview with the Duke of York, by the permission of the King, and, in a set harangue of half an hour's duration, exhorted him to abandon

* On March 20, was brought in a bill for "securing the Protestant religion by educating the children of the Royal Family therein," and on May 25 the Commons declined to vote a supply until the King *declared his alliances*.—*Parl. Hist.*, iv., 879.

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the Romish religion and to be reconciled to the Church of England.* The wisdom of this measure may certainly be questioned, but it is a strong testimony to the straightforward earnestness of Sancroft's character. The Duke, whose sole redeeming point was his constancy to his religion when it was so much for his temporal interest to abandon it,† after having heard the Archbishop without interruption, somewhat shortly dismissed him. He complained indeed, not without some reason, of the inopportuneness of the time they had chosen, as Parliament was just about to meet, and the matter would be sure to be reported prejudicially to him; but in the wild madness which, almost immediately after this, seized the nation from the revelations of Oates's plot, this minor matter was forgotten.

* D'Oyly's *Sancroft*, i., 160, sq.
† Hallam's *Constitutional History*, ii., 127.

# CHAPTER XXVIII.

Chap. XXVIIII. 1678-85.

The Popish plot—The proposal to exclude the Duke of York from the succession—Hereditary right and passive obedience—The publication of *Julian the Apostate*—Answered by *Jovian*—Sherlock's *Case of Resistance*—Distinction between active and passive obedience—The Absolutists—Decrees of the Universities in support of these doctrines—Reversal of position of the Crown, Parliament, Church, and Dissenters—A fierce contest—State of society during the fear of the Popish plot—The third Parliament—Libellous invectives—The Meal Tub Plot—Party appellations—Stillingfleet *On Separation*—Writings of churchmen in favour of Nonconformists—Tone of the Fourth Parliament—The Oxford Parliament—King's Declaration—Ordered to be read in churches—Clergy forced into an attitude antagonistic to Parliaments—Injustice of the Exclusion Bill—The Rye House Plot—Another Declaration read in churches—Persecution of Dissenters more severe—Mr. Boyle remonstrates against persecution in New England—The noble works of Robert Boyle—Propagation of the Gospel among the native Americans—Attempts to introduce it in India—Among the Malays—Among the Turks—Physical science—The Royal Society—Great jealousy of "the new learning" among the clergy—Writings of Thomas Hobbes—Great divines at this period—A scandalous bishop—A Simoniacal archdeacon—Death of the King—Conduct of Sancroft and Ken—Father Huddleston secretly introduced—Character of the King—Church recovered its popularity during this period.

IT is not the province of the Church historian to enter with any minuteness into the miserable details of the Popish plot, one of the most disgraceful chapters in the history of the nation. The Church of England can scarcely be said to be prominently

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concerned in it, though the infamous Titus Oates had unfortunately obtained orders,* and Dr. Tonge, who was concerned in the first revelation of the supposed conspiracy, was a clergyman. "It is to be remembered," says Mr. Hallam, "that there was really and truly a Popish plot in being, though not that which Titus Oates and his associates pretended to reveal. In this plot the King, the Duke of York, and the King of France were chief conspirators; the Romish priests, and especially the Jesuits, were eager co-operators."† The seizure of Coleman, the Duke of York's secretary, and the exposure of his letters with Père la Chaise, the confessor of Louis XIV., betrayed clearly enough the base designs to which the King and the Duke had lent themselves; and hence, probably, arose the King's readiness to patronise a delusion in which he could not, for an instant, have believed, and to suffer numbers of innocent men to be foully murdered, that his own conduct might

* "He was the son of an Anabaptist preacher who afterwards conformed, and got into orders, and took a benefice as this his son did. He was proud and ill-natured, haughty but ignorant. He had been complained of for some very indecent expressions concerning the mysteries of the Christian religion. He was once presented for perjury, but he got to be a chaplain in one of the King's ships, from which he was dismissed upon complaint. He got a qualification from the Duke of Norfolk as his chaplain, and thence he fell into much discourse with the priests who were about that family.....Oates was kept for some time at St. Omer's, and from thence sent through France into Spain, and was now returned to England. He had been long acquainted with Tonge, and made his first discovery to him, and he, by the means of one Kirby, a chemist that was sometimes in the King's laboratory, signified the thing to the King."—Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 282.

† Hallam's *Constitutional History*, ii., 115.

not be too closely inspected. The men who were ready to commit wholesale murder by perjury, would not have scrupled to add one crime more by the assassination of Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, the Protestant magistrate, and it was rightly judged that this alone would be sufficient to give confirmation to all the wild absurdities of the plot. It is said that seventy-two clergymen joined the vast procession which attended the funeral of this supposed victim of the bloodthirsty Papists, and the preacher of his funeral sermon was guarded in the pulpit by a brother divine on each side of him.* "In the disposition of the nation at that time," says Hume, "reason could no more be heard than a whisper in the most violent hurricane." The King acknowledged the plot in his speech. Parliament ordered precautions and received depositions, the pulpits resounded with denunciations, and lawyers and judges rushed to the work of judicial slaughter. †

The proposal to exclude the Duke of York from the succession.

It was the anti-Popish excitement of the time which gave form and expression to what had long been the wish of many Englishmen, and produced the first proposal to exclude the Duke of York from the succession on the ground of his being a Papist. This, which was *the* great question of the remainder of the reign of Charles II—"a measure too bold for the spirit of the country, and the rock

* Hume.

† Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 218, sq. *Parliamentary History*, iv., 1006, sq. Cobbett's *State Trials*, vol. vii. North's *Examen*, chap. iii.

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on which English liberty was nearly shipwrecked" * —is also a point of eminent importance in the history of the Church of England. Let us endeavour to place distinctly before us the question which divided the country into two opposite camps of Petitioners and Abhorrers, Whigs and Tories, Low Churchmen and High Churchmen; and which, by stimulating the natural loyalty of the English nation to an exaggerated pitch, was not far from destroying our liberties altogether.

Hereditary right and passive obedience.

The two points of *hereditary right* and *passive obedience* are intimately connected together; for, if the sovereign succeeds by right of birth to certain imperial powers not conferred by the people, and antecedent and superior to all law,† it seems to follow that with respect to these Divine inherent rights the only duty of the subject is to obey or suffer. And it was thus that a great number of learned and excellent divines argued. They deduced the authority of princes from the patriarchal rights, the authority of a father of a family, of a head of a clan; they maintained that an indefeasible

* Hallam.

† "A sovereign prince does not receive his authority from the laws, but laws receive their authority from him."—Sherlock's *Case of Resistance*, p. 196. (Second edition.)

"The laws by which these and other essentials of sovereignty are established may be called the *imperial laws*, or the *common laws of sovereignty*. It is by these that the Gospel requires *passive obedience*, which is only another name for *non-resistance*; these laws are in perpetual force against the subjects in defence of the sovereign, be he good or evil, just or unjust, Christian or pagan; be he what he will, no subject, or member of subjects, can lift up his hand against his sovereign, and be guiltless by these laws."—Hickes's *Jovian*, p. 202.

right was transmitted by primogeniture, and that no injustice, violence, or tyranny in the receiver of such right could evacuate it. To God alone he was accountable, the subjects could neither call him in question nor resist his will. This had been a favourite doctrine with James I., and had been formally decreed and learnedly argued out in Bishop Overall's *Convocation Book* (not as yet known to the world). In fact, the mysterious sacred powers of the kingly office, represented by the word *Prerogative*, were generally believed in by churchmen, and still more so after the murder of the first Charles and the wonderful restoration of his son. But the doctrine came now, in the prospect of a Popish successor to the Crown, to have a peculiar political significance and to find sceptics and impugners.

The publication of *Julian the Apostate*.

A clergyman of great talent, learning, and skill,* published a treatise called *Julian the Apostate*, in which he first endeavours to show that Julian succeeded to the throne of the Roman empire by hereditary right, but that the Christians who were under him did not hesitate to oppose and resist him, because he persecuted them, not according to, but in defiance of, the laws of the empire. The first Christians, it was said, were legally persecuted, and therefore did not resist; the Christians of Julian's time were illegally persecuted, and resisted.

* Mr. Samuel Johnson, domestic chaplain to Lord William Russell. "Bishop Burnet, in his history, does not so much as once mention his name, which is by many counted an unpardonable omission."—Calamy's *Antobiography*, edited by Rutt, i., 94.

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Hence their authority is to be claimed as establishing the lawfulness of resistance where the King violates the laws of the land.

Answered by *Jovian.*

This treatise was immediately answered by Dr. George Hickes (a name very famous in this controversy) who, in a book entitled *Jovian*, undertakes to show—(1.) That the Roman Empire was not hereditary; (2.) that the Christians under Julian did not resist, but suffered and died patiently.

Sherlock's *Case of Resistance.*

*Jovian* was followed the next year * by a treatise from the pen of Dr. William Sherlock, who proposes to establish the principles of non-resistance to the supreme power by an elaborate examination of Scripture, transferring all that is said in Holy Writ of the absolute Eastern monarch to the case of the English sovereignty.

Distinction between active and passive obedience.

Sherlock's treatise is cleverly written, though full of skilfully disguised fallacies, but it is principally important as bringing out a distinction in the sort of obedience due from the subject to the prince, which is of the utmost significance in the controversy. "They say," says the writer, "that an inauthoritative act which carries no obligations at all, cannot oblige subjects to obedience. Now this is manifestly true, if by *obedience* they mean an *active obedience, for I am not bound to do an ill thing or an illegal action, because my Prince commands me;* but if they mean *passive* obedience, it is as manifestly false, for I am bound to obey, *that is not to resist*, my Prince when he offers the most unjust

* *Jovian*, published in 1683. *Case of Resistance*, 1684.

and illegal violence."* This statement of the doctrine was generally accepted by the High Church clergy. They held that they were not bound actively to obey an illegal command, though they were bound to take quietly the consequences of withholding active obedience, and hence it was that the same men suffered for refusing actively to obey James II. in reading the dispensation, who also suffered for declining to participate in the Revolution which was opposed to their views of hereditary right.

The Absolutists.

But besides these, who may be considered the moderate school on this question, there was a large number of writers who "did not hesitate to avow their abhorrence of all limitations upon arbitrary power,"† and who held that the King was to be obeyed actively, and in every case. "A man is bound," says Sir Robert Filmer, the chief exponent of these views, "to obey the King's command against law, nay, in some cases against Divine laws."‡ Yet this doctrine, which seems only to require to be stated to be abhorred, had many and ardent supporters in the country. The country gentlemen still smarting from the remembrance of the miseries of the troubles were quite ready to endorse it, and from many a country pulpit it sounded forth unchallenged and uncondemned.

The King dismissed one Parliament after another for insisting on the "Exclusion Bill." The country

* Sherlock's *Case of Resistance*, p. 192 (second edition).
† Hallam's *Const. Hist.*, ii., 155.
‡ Filmer, quoted by Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, ii., 156.

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Decrees of the Universities in support of these doctrines.

showed itself unmistakably on the side of the King,* the clergy supported him by their influence, and the Universities passed solemn decrees against the policy which dictated the measure. Oxford selected twenty-seven propositions from the books of Baxter, Goodwin, Owen, Buchanan, Hobbes, &c., and pronounced them "false, seditious, and impious,"† and Cambridge in her address declared, "no earthly power, no menaces or misery shall ever be able to make us renounce and forget our duty. We will still believe and maintain that our princes derive not their title from the people, but from God; that to him only they are accountable, that it belongs not to subjects either to create or censure, but to honour and obey their sovereign, who comes to be so by a fundamental hereditary right of succession, which no religion, no law, no fault or forfeiture can alter or diminish."‡

Reversal of positions of the Crown, Parliament, Church, and Dissenters.

The sentiment of indefeasible Divine right, and the obligation of passive obedience were not for the most part acceptable to the Dissenters (although, in the writings of Baxter, some very strong opinions on the rights of kings may be found). But for this very reason they were the more eagerly cherished, and more loudly proclaimed by churchmen, who desired to connect loyalty and Church principles, dissent and disaffection to the Crown. It thus came about that the Parliament which continually increased in disaffection and factious opposition to the King, and the Dissenters, who

* Hallam, ii., 124, 134. † Collier's *Church Hist.*, viii., 476.
‡ *Ibid.*, 477.

shared in the same views, were closely drawn together, while on the other hand the King and the Duke of York made common cause with the Church which supported their high notions, and preached passive obedience. Thus a complete change had taken place in the position of parties from that which was found soon after the Restoration. The Church was no longer supported by Parliament against the King, and the Dissenters persecuted in spite of his indulgences and dispensations. It was now the Court, Church, and country gentlemen against a majority of the House of Commons and the Nonconformists, who were chiefly powerful in the trading towns and the City of London.

A fierce contest.

Both parties became violently embittered in the contest. The Church lent itself too much to teach arbitrary doctrines, and to use the weapons of persecution; the House of Commons began again to practise a gross tyranny under the pretence of privilege, to send for those who displeased it to appear at its bar, after the fashion of the Parliament of 1641, and to proceed to illegal censures of their proceedings. Thus Mr. Thompson, a clergyman at Bristol, who had preached vehemently against John Hampden's refusal to pay ship-money, was summoned before the House of Commons, who voted that he should be impeached, and compelled him to find security to answer the charges.* Both sides used violent and unscrupulous measures, but the King and the Church proved the stronger, and

* Hallam's *Const. Hist.*, ii., 136.

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the country was at length contented to let him govern without a Parliament.

State of society during the fear of the Popish plot.

During the prevalence of the accusations and suspicions of the Popish plot, little else could occupy men's minds in the nation. A contemporary writer thus well describes the state of things: —"To see the posts and chains put up in all parts of the city, and a considerable number of the trained bands drawn out night after night, and watching with as much care as if a considerable insurrection was expected before morning; and to be entertained from day to day with the talk of massacres designed, and a number of bloody assassins ready to serve such purposes, and recruits from abroad to support and assist them (which things were the general subjects of all conversation), was very surprising. The murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, with the black Sunday which followed soon after it, when it grew so dark on a sudden, about eleven in the morning, that ministers could not read their notes in the pulpits without the help of candles; together with the frequent executions of traitors that ensued, and the many dismal stories handed about continually, made the hearts not only of younger but elder persons to quake for fear. Not so much as a house was at that time to be met with but what was provided with arms; nor did any go to rest at night without apprehensions of somewhat that was very tragical that might happen before morning. And this was then the case not for a few weeks and months only, but for a great while together."†

* Calamy's *Autobiography*, ed. Rutt., i., 83.

The third Parliament.

In March, 1679, met the third Parliament of Charles II., and immediately showed a hostile spirit to the Court by voting that a bill to exclude the Duke of York should be brought in, by following up the prosecution of Lord Danby in spite of the King's pardon, and by closely investigating the bounty money which had been paid by the Court to many members of the long Parliament. Finding the House of Commons bent on this obnoxious policy, the King dissolved them on May 26, not, however, until the *Habeas Corpus* Act had been passed, which has ever since done such good service in defending English liberty.*

Libellous invectives.

In the long interval between the dissolution of this Parliament and the sitting of the next, the country continued to be violently disturbed.

The bishops having insisted on their right of voting in all the preliminary parts of the impeachment of Lord Danby, and a rupture having ensued between the two houses on this ground, a great storm of unpopularity was raised against them. At this moment the law for restraining the press had expired, and there was nothing to repress any scurrilous libels which the discontented party might choose to vent. Accordingly, the Court and clergy were violently assailed, and replies were written in the same savage spirit. Sir Roger L'Estrange was the most noted man in this libellous warfare, and in a paper called the *Observator*, seemed never wearied of hurling invective, sarcasm, and accusations against the Nonconformist party.†

* *Parliamentary History*, iv., 1148.
† Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 306, sq.

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The Meal Tub Plot.

To counteract the Popish plot, which was still believed in by many, the aggrieved and threatened Romanists invented a conspiracy, in which an infamous wretch, named Dangerfield, denounced some Presbyterians as guilty of treason. His perjury, however, was soon discovered, and the plot (known as the Meal Tub Plot, from the place in which some papers relating to it were found) was exploded.*

Party appellations.

Now were first heard in our history the names of Whig and Tory, those opposed to the Court being called Whigs, the name of the fanatical covenanters in Scotland, and the friends of the Court being stigmatized as Tories, an appellation used of Irish banditti, who were fierce Papists. There were also other party names, such as *Petitioners* and *Abhorrers*, the petitioners being those who addressed the King for allowance to let the Parliament meet, and the abhorrers being those who joined in loyal addresses testifying their *abhorrence* of the principles of the other petitioners. †

Stillingfleet *On Separation.*

It was about this time‡ that Dr. Stillingfleet, now Dean of St. Paul's, preached a sermon before the lord mayor and a great congregation in the city, in which he inveighed against the Nonconformists as schismatics, and as troublers of the peace of the nation. Such a sermon by a man like Stillingfleet, who was known to be very comprehensive in his views, and had, indeed, gone beyond other reconcilers in his *Irenicum*, naturally excited great atten-

* Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 315.
† Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 401-2.
‡ Preached May 2, 1680.

tion. At this moment it was in the highest degree dangerous to the Nonconformists to have the cry of schism and disaffection raised against them. The dean's sermon was, therefore, at once answered by no less than five divines, among whom were the redoubtable names of Baxter and Owen.* A thick volume, in reply, speedily came forth from Stillingfleet, which is, perhaps, the most able attack on the principles of Separation which this reign produced. The treatise is preceded by a long preface, which defends the policy of originally moving the matter by the preaching of the sermon, and accuses the Nonconformists of helping the Romish cause by standing aloof from the Church. At the end of the preface, Stillingfleet mentions the terms of comprehension and indulgence, to which he thought it reasonable for the Church to agree. These include a relaxation of the requirements for *lay* communion, in allowing baptism to be administered when so desired without the sign of the cross, and the Communion without kneeling; they also allow a toleration to all who would make a declaration that they considered union with the Church unlawful, and at the same time would subscribe the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England. For ministers, however, the dean would not agree to a subscription merely to the Thirty-six doctrinal Articles, but he expresses himself not opposed to a review, and some alterations of the liturgy, and to a promise to use it instead of an assertion of assent and consent. The treatise is divided into three parts, the first of

* Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 354.

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which gives an historical sketch of Nonconformity; and this forms a very telling part of the work, as the earlier Puritans held separation from the Church to be altogether unjustifiable. The second part examines the nature of the present separation, the different amounts of conformity of which the different schools of the Nonconformists admitted. The third takes in detail, and replies to the various pleas for separation put forward. As an appendix are printed three letters from Messieurs Le Moyne, De L'Angle, and Claude,* distinguished ministers of the Reformed Church in Holland and France, who unite in condemning strongly the separation made from the Church of England, and giving their testimonies to its excellence.

Writings of Churchmen in favour of the Nonconformists.

Stillingfleet's concessions are so considerable, that the outcry raised against his book by the Dissenters seems somewhat surprising; neither does there appear to be any strong contradiction between the *Unreasonableness of Separation* and the *Irenicum* published twenty years before. But there were other divines of the Church who took altogether the Nonconformist's point of view, and argued for them as though they had reason and justice on their side, and the Church was bound to yield to them.

* Claude did not, as it appears, intend his letter to be published, and, when it appeared in print, he wrote another letter to a lady from Paris, April 16, 1681, "in which he farther explained his sentiments on the subject of his former letter, condemning the excesses of both sides, and wishing that they would submit to a just and reasonable accommodation."—Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, p. 85. See Calamy's *Life of Baxter*, i., 360, where numerous treatises, written in answer to Stillingfleet, are mentioned.

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Such was Crofts, Bishop of Hereford, who wrote a tract entiled *Naked Truth*, full of the most wholesale concessions.* Such also was the author of the four treatises called the *Conformist's Plea for the Nonconformists*, in which the writer undertakes to show the reasonableness and equity of their proposals for union, and the great prejudice to the Church by their exclusion. Such again was Daniel Whitby, well known as an annotator on Scripture, who published a book called *The Protestant Reconciler*, the sentiments of which were thought to be so objectionably liberal, that it was ordered to be burnt in the School-Quadrangle at Oxford by the University Marshal, and the writer was compelled to retract by his diocesan, Bishop Ward.†

Tone of the Fourth Parliament.

The books written, however, did not seem to have much effect on either side. The Nonconformists held aloof as stiffly as ever, and the government, exasperated by the defiant tone of the friends of the Dissenters in the House of Commons, encouraged and stimulated a more vigorous application of the penal laws. The Parliament, after a year of prorogations, at length met in October, 1680, and shortly afterwards a bill was introduced for excluding the Duke of York from the succession. Towards the end of the year a measure "for uniting his Majesty's Protestant subjects" was brought in, upon which Mr. Powle said: "Sir, it is well known how, notwithstanding all the endeavours of his Majesty, as well in Parliament as

* Printed in vol. vii. of the *Somers' Tracts*.

† Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, p. 98.

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otherwise, all the acts that are in force against Dissenters, all the endeavours of the fathers of the Church, there are a sort of men, and great numbers too, who will neither be advised nor over-ruled, but under pretence of conscience break violently through all laws whatsoever, to the great disturbance both of Church and State. And if you should give them more liberty, you will encourage them to go on with more boldness; and, therefore, I think it will be more convenient to have a law for forcing the Dissenters to yield to the Church, and not to force the Church to yield to them, and I think we are going quite the wrong way to do the nation good." * These sentiments were still so strong in the House that the friends of the Dissenters were unable or unwilling to carry their measure further, and another perilous scheme of comprehension was happily shelved. A bill, however, to take away the penalties of the 35th Elizabeth, as against Protestants, was carried through both Houses, though, when it should have been offered for the King's assent, at the end of the Session, it was unaccountably missing.†

The Oxford Parliament.

Early in the next year, the Parliament was dissolved for insisting on the Bill of Exclusion, and a new one summoned, which met at Oxford, and lasted only eight days. Mr. Hallam, who will not

* *Parliamentary History*, iv., 1258.

† Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 326. Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, p. 81. By this act (35 Eliz.) those who did not conform to the Church were required to abjure the kingdom under pain of death; and for some degrees of Nonconformity, they were adjudged to die without favour of banishment.

be suspected of any bias against Parliaments and in favour of the King, thus estimates the conduct of these two last Parliaments: "Their votes, in the Session of November, 1680, were marked by the most extravagant factiousness. Their conduct at the short Parliament, held at Oxford in March, 1681, served still more to alienate the peaceable part of the community. That session of eight days was marked by the rejection of a proposal to vest all effective power during the Duke of York's life in a regent, and by an attempt to screen the author of a treasonable libel from punishment, under the pretence of impeaching him at the bar of the Upper House. It seems difficult not to suspect that the secret instigations of Barillon, and even his gold, had considerable influence on some of those who swayed the votes of this Parliament." *

King's Declaration.

Upon the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, the King set forth a Declaration to explain the reason of its sudden dismissal. In this paper he severely reviews the conduct of the three last Parliaments in endeavouring to interfere with the succession and in other respects. Notwithstanding his determination to preserve the succession inviolate, the King declares himself a staunch friend of the Protestant religion, and ready to give any reasonable guarantees for its preservation.

Ordered to be read in churches.

This Declaration was ordered to be read in churches, at the instance (says Burnet) of Arch-

* Hallam's *Constitutional History*, ii., 137.

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bishop Sancroft.* The assertion that this was the Primate's suggestion may, perhaps, be doubted, as it is well known that Burnet is not to be trusted when he speaks of this great prelate; but whoever was the author of the direction, it seems an unfit and mischievous one.

Clergy forced into an attitude antagonistic to Parliament.

The clergy were thus forced to take up a position antagonistic to Parliament, and to range themselves on the side of that party in the state which was urging on the King to govern without the legislative body—a dangerous imitation of the times of Laud and Strafford. Religion, which was already far too much mixed up with politics, became more distinctly marked with a secular brand; and, while the Church was clogged by the assumptions of absolute power, the Nonconformists obtained the credit of being the only champions of constitutional liberty. Persecution now became more rife than ever, because the clergy, feeling that they had taken up an indefensible position, were only too ready to exchange argument for force, and to remove out of their way, by the help of the penal laws, those who were obtaining an inconvenient popularity.

Injustice of the Exclusion Bill.

Yet the great majority of the powerful and wealthy in the nation, firmly held with the Court and the Church, and declined to sanction the unjust proscription which the Whigs laboured to bring about. It is certainly no disgrace to the Church to have refused to endeavour to exclude the Duke of York from the Crown, on account of his religion,

* *Own Time*, p. 329.

and to have stood aloof from truckling to the No Popery cry. But if this could have been done without its identifying itself with the King's crooked policy of governing without Parliaments and through a system of legal intimidation brought to bear on the corporations,* much reproach might have been spared to the Church of England. The noble blood shed on the scaffold for the Rye House plot, has covered the cause which the Church then supported with obloquy, but even Lord Russell, if he did not actually adhere to the duty of non-resistance as preached to him by Tillotson and Burnet, was silenced by their arguments,† and a Christian teacher could scarcely advocate the duty of rebellion during any part of the period now under review.

The Rye-House plot.

After the executions for the Rye House plot, the Court again availed itself of the ready but objectionable means of setting itself right with the country, by commanding the clergy to read a Declaration in their churches, and the nation amazed at the audacity of the designs said to be entertained, and terrified at the dangers of another period of anarchy, acquiesced in the doctrines zealously inculcated by the clergy, ceased to murmur at the King's arbitrary measures, and looked forward contentedly to the accession of a Popish prince to the Crown.

Another Declaration read in churches.

* Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 346.

† See the whole of this matter fully investigated in Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, pp. 101, 115; where also see Tillotson's Letter, advocating the duty of non-resistance. Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 362. Calamy's *Autobiography*, i., 115.

Chap. XXVIII. 1678-85. Persecution of Dissenters more severe.

Would that it could be said that during this period of its unchecked ascendency, the Church had set itself against the persecution of Nonconformists, and obtained this boon from the government which it so effectually served, to live in peace with those who differed from it. But all authorities agree in stating, that during the latter years of the reign of Charles II., the prosecution of Dissenters was more vigorous than at any other period. Political purposes were supposed to require the constant depression and harassing of Whig Nonconformists,* and the Romanists embittered by a remembrance of their own wrongs, laboured but too zealously in the pursuit of revenge. Two hundred warrants are said to have been issued at one time for distresses in Uxbridge and the neighbourhood, and the venerable Richard Baxter was again seized and carried in a state of great suffering from illness, to be bound against a breach of the peace.† Dr. Calamy in his pleasantly written *Memoirs of his Own Life*, records the impression which these violent measures made upon him, while at the same time his account seems to show that the persecution was not quite so universal as some would represent it. "Often was I sent in those days to Newgate, New Prison, and other places of

* "If at any time he was more active than ordinary against the Dissenters, it was by express command from the Court, sometimes by letters, and sometimes given in charges by the judges at the assizes."—Pope's *Life of Ward*, p. 68.

† Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 360, 363. See Neal's *Puritans*, iv., x. Burnet's *Own Time*. Kennett's *Complete History*. Calamy's *Autobiography*, &c.

confinement, with small presents of money to such Dissenting ministers as were clapped up; who used to talk freely with me, and give me some serious advice, and their blessing at parting, with thanks to their benefactors. My own father was never cast into prison, but often had warrants out against him, and was forced to disguise himself, and skulk in holes and corners, and often change his lodgings. I used at that time, I well remember, to think it very strange, that such men as prayed very heartily for King and government, and gave their neighbours no disturbance, could not be suffered to live in quiet. Often was I at their most private meetings for worship, and never did I hear them inveigh against those in power, though they were commonly run down as enemies of royalty. But I never was at a meeting when disturbance was given by justices, informers, constables and soldiers more than twice." *

Mr. Boyle remonstrates against persecution in New England.

It is a pleasant relief for a moment to reverse this picture, and to exhibit a sincere member of the Church of England, and one who perhaps beyond all men of his age, illustrated the dignity and beauty of the Christian religion, pleading for toleration with Puritans and Independents, who were zealous to uphold their discipline by the arm of power. "I have heard," writes Robert Boyle to John Eliot, the venerable Apostle of the Indians, "to my trouble, the government of the Massachussets sharply censured, for their great severity to some Dissenters who, contrary to order, had

* Calamy's *Autobiography* (ed. Rutt), i., 88.

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convened at a meeting-house to worship God. This severe proceeding seems to be the more strange and the less defensible in those who having left their native country, and crossed the vast ocean to settle in a wilderness, that they may there enjoy the liberty of worshipping God according to their conscience, seem to be more engaged than other men, to allow their brethren a share in what they thought was so much all good men's due. And indeed, though persecution for innocent, though perhaps erroneous opinions taken up for conscience sake, were not unsuitable to the equity and gentleness of the Gospel, yet many of your friends here, think it would be a very improper course to be taken by you at this time, and fear that if your rigorous proceedings against Dissenters should be talked of here, it would open men's minds against your government, and furnish your enemies with objections that your friends would not be able to answer; and besides, may be of very bad consequence to that sort of men here, who do most symbolize with you in point of opinion and worship." *

The noble works of Robert Boyle.

The eminent man who wrote these words, passed his life in promoting two grand objects, which are freely recognised in the present day as among the most important upon which human energies can be employed—viz., the propagation of the Gospel, and the advancement of physical science. The first of these subjects directly belongs to the Church history of the period; and the second,

* Birch's *Life of Robert Boyle*, p. 234 (written 1681).

incidentally, as having caused almost a faction within the Church itself between its promoters and opposers.

Propagation of the Gospel among the native Americans.

It was under the government of Cromwell that a collection was made throughout England for assisting the work of John Eliot, a Puritan minister, who had devoted his life to preaching the Gospel to the native Americans bordering on the New England settlements. Large contributions were received, with which land to the amount of £700 or £800 a year was purchased, and a corporation appointed to carry on the work. At the Restoration, a scandalous attempt was made by one of those who had sold their land to recover possession, the purchasers not being a legal corporation. This was frustrated by the energy of Richard Baxter and the ready help of Lord Clarendon, and the company was freshly constituted, the Honourable Robert Boyle being appointed governor.* Mr. Boyle continued to direct the affairs of the society for twenty-eight years, during which time great numbers of the Indians were converted, and arranged in congregations according to the Independent system, and the Bible and some religious books printed in the Indian language. In 1684, the aged John Eliot thus describes, in a letter to Mr. Boyle, the effect of his work: "Your honour's intimation hath the force of a command upon me, and, therefore, I shall briefly relate the religious walking and ways of the praying Indians. They do diligently observe and keep the Sabbath in all the places of

* Baxter's *Autobiography*, p. 290.

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their public meetings to worship God. The acts of worship which they perform in their public meetings are as followeth: The officer begins with prayer, and prayeth for all men, rulers, ministers, people, where they have an officer ordained, as it is in almost all the churches. But we have more public assemblies that meet every Lord's day to worship God, than we have churches. When prayer is ended, they call forth such as are to answer the catechism; after this a chapter is read, sometimes in the Old Testament, sometimes in the New, and sundry of the young men are trained up and called forth to this service, sometimes one, sometimes another. Then a psalm is sung, which service sundry are able to manage well. That finished, the preacher first prayeth, then preacheth, then prayeth again. If it be the day for the Lord's Supper to be administered, the Church doth address themselves unto it, and the minister doth exactly perform it according to the Scriptures. When that service is done, they sing a psalm according to the pattern of Christ; then he blesseth the Church, and so finisheth the morning service. In the afternoon they meet again, and perform all parts of worship as they did in the morning; which done, if there be any infant to baptize, they perform the service according to the Scriptures; which done, the deacon calleth for contributions; which done, if there be any act of public discipline, then the offender is called forth, and is exhorted to give glory to God and confess his sin, when, being penitent, they gladly receive him and forgive him."

He then enumerates some thirty congregations in different localities, and says that the Indians "practise and manage the whole instituted public worship of God among themselves without the presence or inspection of any English among them, which is no small addition and advancement of the kingdom of Christ."*

Attempt to introduce it in India.

Encouraged by the good success of the work among the American Indians, to which he had been so instrumental, Mr. Boyle proceeded to attempt the same in other fields. He was a director of the East India Company, and had been very active in procuring their charter, and now he made it his business to impress upon his brethren the solemn duties which they owed to the natives with whom they traded. "It seemed to me very fit," he writes to the chairman, "that we, whose endeavours God, of late, had so signally prospered, should pay him some little acknowledgment of his many blessings, and that, remembering ourselves to be Christians, as well as merchants, we should endeavour to bring those countries some spiritual good things whence we so frequently brought back temporal ones.....The way I leave to your wisdoms, not despairing that if but so much be done at first as may be carried without considerable opposition, the goodness of the work will procure a blessing on it that will make it prosperous; and the success will invite, perhaps, many more than your own company to be co-operators with the truth, and

* Rev. J. Eliot to Hon. R. Boyle.—Appendix to Birch's *Life of Boyle.*

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contributors to the enlarging the pale of the Christian Church." *

Among the Malays.

Not content with this, the noble-hearted Boyle also directed his attention to another family of heathens, and procured the translation of the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles into the Malayan language, having five hundred copies printed at his own expense. This work was done at Oxford, by Mr. Hyde, Sub-librarian of the Bodleian, and published in 1677.†

Among the Turks.

Besides this, he also caused parts of the Scriptures and Christian treatises to be translated into Turkish for distribution in the Levant; so that, in her vast missionary labours and successes, the Church of England must ever look up with a glance of affectionate reverence to this first great labourer in a sacred cause. Neither were the labours of this good man expended merely upon heathens. His own ignorant fellow-countrymen in Ireland also obtained his care (as will be recorded in another place), and the name of Boyle, and the history of religious thought in England, will ever be connected with the rise of the taste for the study of physical science brought about by the Royal Society.

Physical Science. The Royal Society.

It was during the period of the Civil Wars, and as some relief from the miserable disputes and convulsions which were rending the country, that a small knot of friends began to meet together, first in London, and then in Oxford, to carry on and

* Birch's *Life of Boyle*, p. 228.
† *Ibid.*, p. 230.

compare investigations in natural science. Some were divines, as Wilkins, Wallis, Ward, and Bathurst, some physicians, and others laymen, among whom Robert Boyle was conspicuous. They met in the lodgings of Dr. Wilkins when Warden of Wadham, and, at his removal to Cambridge, in Mr. Boyle's lodgings. They were at first known by the name of the *Invisible College*, but, at the Restoration, were incorporated under the name of the *Royal Society*. Patronized by the King, who was extremely fond of experimental chemistry, and increased by the accession of many learned members, the Royal Society grew and flourished, and England had the honour of setting the example to Europe of the first association formed for scientific purposes.

Great jealousy of "the new learning" among the clergy.

It is extremely curious to observe the hostility and jealousy with which the Royal Society's labours were at first viewed by many distinguished divines, and how that body, which numbered among its members such men as Boyle, Evelyn, and Seth Ward, was considered to be hostile to true religion, and directly conducive to Popery or Socinianism. When Evelyn went to Oxford to receive an honorary degree, the University orator, Dr. South, thought it not out of place to inveigh bitterly against the "new learning," as it was called,* and Dr. Peter Gunning, Bishop of Ely, refused to license a book in which the Royal Society was praised. † Dr. Stubbe, a man distinguished for his

* Evelyn's *Diary*.

† Birch's *Life of Boyle*, p. 204. Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, had the same views.

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acquirements, writes to Boyle, that by this pestilent association "the whole education of this land and all religion is subverted,"* and imputes to the labours of these savants all the "inconveniences that have befallen the land, and all the debaucheries of the gentry." † The Secretary of the Society, and one of its most forward advocates, was Mr. Joseph Glanvil, Rector of Bath, a man in whose character is found the curious contrast of views on physical science in advance of his age, while, at the same time, he cherished and learnedly defended an implicit belief in witchcraft.‡ The High Church divines looked upon the members of the Royal Society as the Nonconformists of philosophy, and one of them declared, at a conference or argument held with Glanvil, that Aristotle must needs know more of physical science than they either did or could know, because he had travelled through the whole of Asia. § Religion has suffered heavily for this long-cherished devotion of the Church to the old "notional way," and not until quite modern times has the natural and necessary connection between it and science been generally apprehended.

Writings of Thomas Hobbes.

But there were other dangers at this time threatening religion more real than the fancied perils of the new philosophy. The writings of a man who struck at the root of all revealed and moral truth, at the same time that he derided civil liberty, and

* Birch's *Life of Boyle*, p. 189. † *Ibid.*, p. 198.

‡ See his *Sadducismus Triumphatus*.

§ Mr. Crosse, Vicar of Chew Magna, in Somersetshire.—See Glanvil's *Plus Ultra*, ch. i.

attributed all authority to the mere will of the prince, were at this period in great vogue. At the Restoration, Thomas Hobbes was in his seventy-second year, but he was still hale and vigorous, and his life was prolonged for nearly twenty years after the King's return. His character was honest, and his life free from scandal, but his intellectual temperament was of the most cross-grained and unhealthy description. With an overweening conceit of his own powers, which led him into the most ridiculous errors,* nevertheless, from the piquancy of his style and boldness of his speculations, his writings were well received. Joining with an extreme ignorance of books a skilful mastery over the learned languages, his studies revolved in a narrow circle, and the principal labour of his life was the excogitation of paradoxes against every received opinion in religion, morality, and political economy. His followers professed a pure atheism, making necessity the cause of all things, and the only moral duty the upholding of the peace and order of the State, all things else being to be taken or rejected according to the appetite and aversion of each. In a book called *Behemoth*, Hobbes gave an account the civil wars, and the motives which animated the contending parties; and from his bitter condemnation of the fanatical side, he acquired a certain popularity among the advocates of high principles. Although answered by a host of divines, among whom are the famous names of

* As, for instance, when he argued against the mathematicians for the quadrature of the circle, the cubature of the sphere, &c., &c.

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Bramhall, Wallis, More, Cudworth, and Cumberland, nevertheless his influence reached and affected the theology of the day. Samuel Parker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* is a complete specimen of Hobbism applied to the question of Conformity, and Tillotson, preaching before the King, advocated, though apparently unconsciously, one of Mr. Hobbes's favourite dogmas. *

Great divines at this period.

With infidelity encouraged in high places, and Nonconformity embittered by persecution, the Church had much indeed to contend with during this reign. Yet the assertion with which the history of the period was commenced, that at no time could the Church of England boast a body of greater divines than during the Restoration era, still holds good. It was now that the most famous works of English divinity were produced. With all their vast learning and wonderful powers Hall and Usher, and the chief divines of the previous period, have, perhaps, left nothing of such constant and direct use to the Church as Jeremy Taylor's *Liberty of Prophesying and Dissuasive from Popery*, Isaac Barrow's *Sermons and Discourses*, Bishop Pearson's *Treatise on the Creed*, and the *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ* of George Bull.

* See the account of this sermon in Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, p. 60, sq. The King was asleep during the delivery; at the end of it, one of the lords present said to him, "'Tis pity your Majesty slept, for we had the rarest piece of Hobbism that ever you heard in your life."—"Od's fish! he shall print it then," said the King, and immediately called the Lord Chamberlain, and gave him his commands to the dean to print his sermon.—Birch's *Tillotson*, p. 63.

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Occasion will be taken, in a future chapter, to notice a few out of the many distinguished writings of this time. Meantime there were not wanting scandals, even among those most highly placed in the Church, to counterbalance the splendour of the reputation of others. Non-residence indeed among the prelates had to a great extent ceased. The King did not, like his father and grandfather, love bishops, and encourage them about the Court, and patronage was, upon the whole, far better administered under the dissolute Charles II., than under his more respectable predecessors. But exceptions are to be found to this general assertion. It is recorded of one bishop, that he obtained his promotion through a bribe skilfully administered to the infamous Duchess of Cleveland,* and the character of this prelate in exercising the functions of his holy office, corresponded with the way in which he had obtained it. So grossly did he neglect his duty, and dilapidate the Church property, that the good primate was constrained to put in force against him his archiepiscopal authority, and suspend him from his office.†

A scandalous bishop.

Sancroft was indeed a man who knew how to be firm when occasion required, as he showed also in another instance of clerical scandal. An Archdeacon of Lincoln having been convicted of simony,

A simoniacal archdeacon.

* Dr. Wood, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. He contrived that his niece, a rich heiress should marry the Duchess's son. The bad conduct of this man as Dean of Lichfield, has been before alluded to. The whole of Sancroft's proceedings in the matter are preserved in the *Tanner MSS.*

† *Tanner MSS.*, vol. cxxxi. D'Oyly's *Sancroft*, i., 193, sq.

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petitioned the King, and the matter was referred to the Primate, apparently with an intention of excusing the offender. Upon this the archbishop wrote very plainly to the King, pressing for punishment. "Sire," he says, "the crime he stands convicted of, is a pestilence that walketh in darkness, too often committed, but very seldom discovered. And now there is a criminal detected, if your Majesty shall think fit, which God forbid, to rescue him from the penalty, the markets of Simon Magus will be more frequented than ever."*

Death of the King.

The life of Charles II. was suddenly and somewhat strangely cut short, and in the melancholy scene of the licentious King's last moments, the chief ministers of a Church which he despised, and of a religion which he had habitually outraged, had a sad and most difficult duty to perform. They were not below themselves on the occasion.

Conduct of Sancroft and Ken.

Sancroft "made a weighty exhortation to him, in which he used a good degree of freedom,"† and the saintly Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, the most in favour with the King of all the bishops, because Charles knew and had experienced his honest integrity, laboured earnestly in the work. "He applied himself much," says Burnet, "to the awaking the King's conscience. He spoke with a great elevation both of thought and expression, like a man inspired, as those who were present told me. He resumed the matter often, and pronounced many short ejaculations and prayers, which affected

* D'Oyly's *Sancroft*, i., 205.
† Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 392.

all that were present, save him who was the most concerned, who seemed to take no notice of him, and made no answer to him."* The miserable farce was played out to the last. The hypocrisy and levity with which Charles had so long trifled with sacred things, had not yet been abandoned. The King suffered the bishops to address him as a member of their Church, while he was waiting for their departure, perhaps impatiently, perhaps unconcernedly, to go through the solemn mockery of a Romanist preparation for eternity.

Father Huddleston secretly introduced.

The heir to the Crown now about to become vacant was employed in conducting the intrigue, and Father Huddleston, a priest who had assisted the King in his escape after the battle of Worcester, was smuggled in to perform the ceremony. Assuredly no robber chieftain of the middle ages, who thought it a sufficient act of expiation for his sins to be buried in the habit of St. Francis, ever went through a more miserable parody of religion.

Character of the King.

It is needless to dwell on the unfortunate character of this King, as it presents few if any points for the ecclesiastical historian. Charles II. never loved or valued the Church of England, though he supported it in the latter portion of his reign on political grounds. It is scarcely necessary to say that he was not a true disciple of any form of faith. Undoubtedly his brother knew that his religious prepossessions, as far as he had any, were in favour of Romanism, but Charles had certainly never professed himself a Romanist till the last

* Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 392.

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moments of his life, and the Church of Rome, liberal as she has ever been in her views as to the morality of crowned heads, can scarcely be congratulated on her convert.

Church recovered popularity in this period.

The Church recovered during the Restoration era that popularity in the country which she had lost through the vexatious disciplinarianism of Laud. It is true that many reproached the bishops and clergy for a too great rigidity in maintaining their system against the comprehension of the Puritanical element, but there were many, too, who appreciated their wisdom in this point. It is true that they were attacked, and not without justice, for an intolerant persecution of dissenters, but the substantial laity of the country went far beyond them in this respect. The House of Commons were the chief persecutors until carried away in another direction by the fear of Popery. The Nonconformists formed but a small proportion of the population, and the Church was rapidly gaining ground on them. The diocese of Norwich had, under Laud and Wren, been the most Puritanical in England, but at this period one of the Norfolk members thus described its condition in the House of Commons:—"I live," said Mr. Stewart, "in a county of much trade, and I know not of a family removed, nor trade altered; and in the country a general conformity, which grows daily on the people. In Norwich are twenty thousand persons, and not twenty dissenters."* We have this important fact stated by Dr. Sherlock, in his *Test Act*

* *Parliamentary History*, iv., 418.

*Vindicated*, that upon a calculation made in 1676 the dissenters of all kinds in England, including Papists, were in the proportion to members of the Church of England as one to twenty. * When we consider how few years had elapsed since the whole nation had been nonconformist, this is assuredly a striking fact. The religious madness of the Rebellion era had indeed made a deep and lasting impression upon the national mind. Never again, as during the administration of Laud, have the respectability and intelligence of the country been alienated from the national Church. She could now have well afforded to tolerate Dissenters, but, unfortunately, as yet she had not learned her real power. The Presbyterian system had been exhibited in her place, and had shown its radical and inevitable defects. The grotesque medley of sects which succeeded it had been regarded by the nation with terror and amazement, and only endured under the compulsion of an invincible army. Gladly did English men and women welcome back the time-honoured liturgy, the sober and practical teaching which they had so long lost. Difficulties, chiefly arising out of the late troubles, disturbed the restoration of the Church, and her chief men were not free from the charges of petulance and harshness; but these were merely blots upon the surface of a general tranquillity. The immorality and profaneness due to the overstrained religionism of the Commonwealth were being gradually mitigated. With some, indeed, of her ministers

* Calamy's *Autobiography*, (ed. Rutt), i. 80.

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ignorant, and some licentious, the Church of England possessed at that period the most learned and eloquent body of divines of which she has ever boasted, and not a few bright examples of a truly devoted piety. She had withstood the dangers of ritualism, she had baffled the attacks of fanaticism, she was now being fitted for other trials—the craft of the Jesuit supported by the power of the Crown, and the heathenizing influence of the Latitudinarian school, and the coldness which it superinduced.

# CHAPTER XXIX.

Chap. XXIX. 1685.

Influence of the Church on the accession of James II.—His character—The Church of England raised him up and threw him down—Clergy not inconsistent with regard to the doctrine of passive obedience—Prevalence of the doctrine encouraged James to act as he did—His first Declaration—Loyal addresses—King goes to mass in state—The papers of Charles II.—Slights put upon the Church of England—The new Parliament—Monmouth's rebellion—Mew, Bishop of Winchester—Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells—Fell, Bishop of Oxford—Violation of Test Act by the King—Excitement in the country—Parliament opposes the King's projects—Compton, Bishop of London—Parliament prorogued—The French Protestants—Unpopularity of the King—Regulations for ordination, &c.—King's dispensing power affirmed by the judges—Promotion and open favour of Romanists—The English clergy preach and write against Romanism—Treachery within the Church—Severe measures taken against the clergy—The case of Dr. Sharp—Court of Ecclesiastical Commission—The prelates who were in the Commission—Trial and sentence of the Bishop of London—Dismissal of Lord Rochester—The embassy to Rome—King determines to favour Dissenters—The Declaration for liberty of conscience—Its reception in the country—King's policy meets with little success—The King goes on progress—The outrage on Magdalen College—Church divines look to the Prince of Orange—Letters of Princess Mary and the primate.

Influence of the Church on the accession of James II.

IT was due to the influence which the Church of England had gained over the nation, its opposition to the Exclusion Bill, and its strong defence of the doctrine of hereditary right, that James II. succeeded his brother without a question and without

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a murmur.* The whole policy of his reign from his first accession to his ignominious flight, was to insult, outrage, and oppress that body to which he owed everything.

His character.

History has told us of many bad kings on the throne of England, but has described none perhaps in such utterly repulsive colours as James II. His grandfather was silly and coarse, but he was good-tempered and liberal. His father was a bad ruler, but personally endowed with many noble qualities. His brother was licentious and unprincipled, but he had great tact and quick perception. James II. had all their vices without any of their redeeming qualities. So foolish and impolitic, that from the beginning to the end of his reign, he can scarcely be said to have done one wise action; so mean, ill-tempered, false, and cruel, as in each of these points to obtain a bad pre-eminence; he was also as licentious as his brother, without his taste, and as unpatriotic and base,† without his skill in hiding it. His sole good quality was an honest and constant adherence to that debased form of religion which he had embraced from no motives of self-interest but from conviction of its truth, and this quality

* Calamy's *Autobiography*, i., 116. Evelyn's *Diary*. Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 399 (ed. 1838) and note. Sir J. Reresby's *Memoirs*, p. 295.

† Barillon, writing to the King of France, says that King James had said to him, "He had been brought up in France and eaten of your Majesty's bread, and that his heart was *French*."—Dalrymple, i., iv., 107. "He likes my pistoles as well as his brother," said Louis. For the baseness with which James stooped to Louis in civil and commercial matters, see Dalrymple, i., v., 4.

was the one thing of all others the most certain to bring him into immediate collision with his subjects.

The Church of England raised him up and threw him down.

The Church of England had made an enormous sacrifice to the principle of hereditary right in supporting the claims of an apostate from her faith, to the temporal headship of the Church as well as the State, but for that very reason his actions would be more narrowly scanned. His first declarations and speeches, the counsellors whom he chose, the persons whom he promoted would be carefully watched, to observe the earliest indications of treachery to those institutions which though personally he might be hostile to them, officially he was bound to uphold. In the case of James II., not only indications but palpable proofs were at once given, that he never for a moment entertained the idea of administering either Church or State, otherwise than according to his personal predilections. He ignored pledges, he despised laws, he scorned even the semblance of justice and equity, he proceeded at once as a tyrant determined to grasp absolute power, and as a Romanist resolved to use that power for the propagation of his faith. Then the influence which had raised him up threw him down. The Church of England to which he owed everything, and which he had repaid by the grossest ingratitude, proved to him that she was not to be lightly outraged on the tenderest point, and, aided and assured by her, his indignant subjects cast him out.

It is customary with some writers to sneer at the

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Clergy not inconsistent with regard to the doctrine of passive obedience.

conduct of the English clergy in this reign, as though it practically falsified the doctrines of loyalty which they had so prominently advocated.* But it must be a wilful misunderstanding of the points at issue, which can permit intelligent men to write thus. With few exceptions, the duty advocated by the English clergy in this matter, was that of *passive obedience*. But the duty of passive obedience does not require any active participation in illegal acts—does not bind the subject to carry out the commands of the King in defiance of the laws; but simply enjoins upon him rather to bear patiently a penalty unjustly inflicted, than to rush into active rebellion to oppose it. The great body of the English clergy took this view of their duty, and hence their almost universal refusal to read the declaration of liberty of conscience which would have been equivalent to an *active participation* in the illegal acts of the Crown. There were indeed some few who held to their full extent Filmer's monstrous doctrines that *active* obedience was due from the subject to the command of the sovereign in all cases. These were either happily inconsistent, or else joined that small faction of clergy who were ready to betray the interests of the Church to the tyrannical will of James. It is true that with regard to the quarter to which, under the peculiar circumstances of the country, their obedience was due, there arose a great difference of opinion among them. Some held that hereditary right could not be evacuated even by its own acts. These

* See *Life of James II.*, ii., 59, 70, and all the Whig historians.

formed the non-juring section. Others, that a *de facto* government had a title to their allegiance. These took the oaths to King William. Both parties, jurors and non-jurors, might act consistently with the doctrine of passive obedience. There simply was produced a doubt as to where the authority rested, but no doubt as to their duty in reference to the authority. The doctrine of passive obedience may be a slavish and a senseless view of a subject's duty, but it cannot with any fairness be said that the clergy in this reign contradicted their previous advocacy of it.

Prevalence of this doctrine enouraged James to act as he did.

It is, however, abundantly certain that the prevalence of this doctrine among the clergy, the exaggerated expression and importance given to it, the excesses and caricatures of it which were favoured by some leading men, and especially by the Universities, had a principal influence in emboldening the King to strike so early, and so openly, at the religion and liberties of his subjects. Of the Church he thought himself sure by its own most cherished principles, of the country he thought he could make himself sure by a packed and compliant Parliament, but both in religion and politics he had grievously miscalculated.

His first declaration.

The first public declaration made by the new King when, after his brother's death, he addressed a short speech to the Privy Council, contained but a poor and meagre tribute to that Church which had brought him to his throne. "I shall make it my endeavour," said he, "to preserve this government, both in Church and State, as it is now by

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law established. I know the principles of the Church of England are favourable to monarchy, and the members of it have shown themselves good and loyal subjects; therefore, I shall always take care to defend and support it."* This is the language of an absolute ruler condescending to patronise the Church because he believes it may be useful to him. Scarcely had the words been spoken, before the King showed his real spirit by doing openly and ostentatiously what before he had been obliged to veil in decent obscurity. He went immediately to mass with the Queen in the little chapel at St. James's, the doors being set wide open† that all his subjects might see what position the religion proscribed by a hundred laws was now to occupy.

Loyal addresses.

Yet the words of the King, favourable to the Church, were at once widely spread and enthusiastically welcomed by the clergy. They spoke of them as the assurance of a King, and as a word never yet broken. They treated the declaration in their pulpits as a matter of thanksgiving, and they sent addresses to the King full of loyalty and devotion.‡ It was thought ill-bred and suspicious

* Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, i., 160. Kennett's *Complete History*, iii., 427. *Life of James II.*, ii., 3.

† *Life of James II.*, ii., 5. Evelyn's *Diary*.

‡ The address of the bishops says: "In that most auspicious moment in which you first sat down on the chair to which God and your right have advanced you, you were pleased in our favour to make that admirable declaration which we ought to write down in letters of gold and engrave in marble. However, we shall treasure it up in our hearts as the greatest foundation of comfort which this world can afford us in our present condition."

even to mention in these addresses "the religion established by law," and when the clergy of London not only used this phrase, but also added the words "dearer to us than our lives," their address was looked upon as an incivility and an offence.* Yet it was not long before even the most obsequious and confiding began to be alarmed. On the second Sunday after his Accession, James went to mass in state, with all the ensigns of royalty accompanying him. The Duke of Norfolk carried the sword of state, but stopped at the door of the chapel. The King, passing him, said, "My lord, your father would have gone further." The Duke answered, "Your Majesty's father would not have gone so far."†

King goes to mass instate.

Resolved no longer to submit to any disguise for himself, he was also anxious to dispel the doubt which still clung to the religious convictions of his brother, and to the faith in which he died. With this view, he produced from the late King's strong box two papers, said to be in the handwriting of Charles, which declared his conscientious conviction of the truth of the Romish religion. The papers turn upon the point of the necessity of a visible and infallible Church as the judge in controversies. They are not distinguished by any strong or novel arguments, but are a simple and almost puerile

The papers of Charles II.

—Singer's *Clarendon Correspondence*, ii., 472. The address of the University of Oxford promised obedience without any restrictions or limitations.

* Calamy's *Autobiography*, i., 118. Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 399.

† Dalrymple, i., ii., 163.

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statement of some of the well-known commonplaces of the Romanist.* Yet James showed them exultingly to Archbishop Sancroft, and asked if he, with the assistance of the whole Episcopal bench could answer them. The Archbishop was deferential to a fault, but he was obliged to acknowledge that there was nothing in the papers but what was easy of refutation. He was unwilling, however, to undertake the task of replying to them, which the King seemed to press upon him, as feeling, perhaps, that it involved too terrible a reflection upon the memory of the late King. It is no small proof of the imbecility which distinguished James, that he claimed this as a polemical victory over the foremost champions of the Church of England.†

Slights put upon the Church of England.

The new King solemnized the funeral rites of his brother with a meanness which offended everybody, and which was the more remarkable as he expressed a great devotion to his memory.‡ This was, perhaps, to be attributed to the fact that the funeral rites must needs be performed according to the usage of the Church of England, and he was fully determined to pay to that Church neither deference nor respect. A new pulpit was now set up in the oratory at Whitehall for Lent preachings by Romish divines, mass was publicly said, and the Romanists swarmed at Court with triumph and

* See the papers in Kennett, iii., 429. See also Evelyn's *Diary*, Oct. 2, 1685.

† *Life of James II.*, ii., 9. Dalrymple, i., 163.

‡ "He was very obscurely buried," says Evelyn, "without any manner of pomp."—*Diary*, Feb. 14, 1685.

exultation in their looks.* While Jesuits were preaching in the oratory, Tenison, Tillotson, and Ken in the Chapel Royal were discoursing against the errors of Popery, being obliged, by express order, to make three *congees* to the vacant royal seat as though the King himself were present.† The ceremony of the Coronation, which took place on April 23, gave James another opportunity of putting a slight upon the Church of England. The Archbishop was compelled to perform it with the omission of what had always been considered the most solemn part of the service—namely, the administration of the Holy Communion; and in the Litany and prayers used on the occasion, James was studious to show his contempt for prayers used by prelates not in communion with Rome. The Queen, it was observed, joined devoutly in the responses, but he never moved his lips.‡

The new Parliament.

A new Parliament had been summoned to inaugurate the new reign, but, mindful of the temper of these Assemblies during the latter part of his brother's time, James spared no efforts to procure the return of members presumed to be favourable to arbitrary power, and an indefinite extension of the prerogative. New charters had been granted to corporate towns, and only those persons were nominated who were presumed to be devoted to the Crown, without any reference to the fact of their

* Evelyn's *Diary*, March 5.

† *Ibid.* *Life of Ken*, by a Layman, i., 255.

‡ Bishop Patrick's *Autobiography*. *Life of Ken*, by a Layman, i., 263, note.

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residence within the limits of the borough. Thus the officers of the Guards figured as aldermen in almost all the charters in Cornwall, and procured the election of forty-four obsequious members from that county. The means used were so successful that the King looked upon the Parliament as almost entirely devoted to him.* In his speech at its opening, James exactly repeated the assurance which he had made to the Privy Council on the first day of his reign. The Church of England was eminently loyal, therefore he would support and defend it. He would preserve the government in Church and State, but would never depart from the true prerogatives of the Crown. He would invade no man's property.† Yet he had already invaded the property of the whole nation by seizing upon taxes before they were granted by Parliament, and his subjects were not long in discovering the peculiar interpretation which he put upon the promise of preserving the government in Church and State.

Monmouth's rebellion.

The rebellion of Argyle in Scotland, and of Monmouth in the West of England, came very opportunely for the King to divert men's minds from the consideration of his arbitrary proceedings, and to stir up the flames of loyal devotion to the Crown. The Duke of Monmouth was a weak man, and made a miserably weak attempt upon the throne. It was sufficient, however, to involve

* Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 402. Oldmixon's *History of England*, ii., 698.

† Kennett, iii., 431. *Life of James*, ii., 14.

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thousands of honest men who saw in the dissolute youth the champion of the Protestant cause, in a hopeless ruin. After the battle of Sedgemoor, Somersetshire reeked with blood, first from the military executions made by Lord Feversham and Colonel Kirk, and then from the more deliberate butcheries of the bloody assizes of Judge Jeffries. It is a fact, which his apologists cannot explain away, that the King sanctioned and applauded the intolerable iniquities of his unjust judge. *

Mew, Bishop of Winchester.

During the battle of Sedgemoor, a prelate of the Church of England had been conspicuous in the royal army, and, by bringing up his coach-horses at a critical moment to drag forward the artillery, had greatly contributed to the victory. This was Dr. Mew, lately translated from the See of Bath and Wells to the richer preferment of Winchester. The same prelate had honourably distinguished himself after the defeat of the rebels, by endeavouring to arrest the cold-blooded butcheries of Lord Feversham. †

* King James, in his *Life* by himself, says, "Jeffries drew undeservedly a great obloquy upon his Majesty's clemency, not only in the number but in the manner, too, of several executions."—Macpherson, i., 145. The Stuart compiler adds, "Moderation and mercy were always most agreeable to the King's temper."—*Life of James II.*, p. 43. "The wicked judge and the wicked king," says Lord Macaulay, "attempted to vindicate themselves by throwing the blame on each other. But neither of these hard-hearted men must be absolved at the expense of the other. The plea set up for James can be proved, *under his own hand*, to be false in fact. The plea of Jeffries, even if it be true in fact, is utterly worthless."—*History of England*, c. v.

† Oldmixon, ii., 704. Kennett, iii., 432. *Life of Ken*, by a Layman, i., 282, note.

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Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells.

Dr. Mew had been succeeded at Bath and Wells by a prelate of a gentler nature, and of a more sublime charity. The name of Thomas Ken is one which the Church of England delights to honour. His character was cast in the mould of the primitive Christians; he was a man without fear, without self-seeking, and without reproach. As a Fellow of Winchester College, he had done infinite honour to himself and to the Church, by refusing to allow the use of his house for the mistress of Charles II.; and, as Chaplain to the Princess of Orange, he had braved the anger of her husband by protesting against the irregularities by which he dishonoured a loving wife. * Charles II., an acute judge of character, saw the sincerity and earnestness of Ken, and, greatly to his credit, promoted him in the Church. It was to Ken that he listened with the least impatience in his dying moments, when he spoke with such fervour that all who were present were melted to tears. Either the favour in which he had been regarded by his brother, or the somewhat ascetic cast of his character, recommended Ken also to James, and it was the new Bishop of Bath and Wells who was selected to support the King in his coronation. As soon as the rebellion of Monmouth was broken, Bishop Ken had hastened to his diocese, and struck with the sight of mouldering limbs exposed by the wayside, and by the tales of horror which he heard, he at once addressed to the King a bold remonstrance against the cruelty of his officers. Not content with this,

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, pp. 7-9.

he applied himself also with all energy to alleviate the sufferings of those who were imprisoned at Wells, and in other places of his diocese, daily relieving some hundreds of them, and visiting and praying with them.*

Fell, Bishop of Oxford.

Another prelate, whose martial vigour was also conspicuous at the time of Monmouth's rebellion, was Dr. Fell, Bishop of Oxford. He suggested the organizing and arming a body of volunteers in the University, and took a prominent part in the work, while the Earl of Abingdon, as Lord-Lieutenant of the County, called out the Militia, and made diligent search for Nonconformist ministers, and all suspected persons. † For a moment, when Monmouth threatened Bristol, the danger of the rebellion seemed imminent; but his ill-advised step in turning back again into the west quickly destroyed his chance, and the loyal volunteers of the University were not called into active service.

Violation of Test Act by the King.

The real danger that arose out of Monmouth's rebellion was of another sort. It gave an opportunity for a tyrannical King to form a standing army, and for a zealous partisan of Popery to begin the measures which were judged by his Jesuit advisers

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 16. *Life of Ken*, by a Layman, i., 283.

† *Clarendon Correspondence*, i., 132-135. The Lord-Lieutenant of Oxfordshire writes to Lord Clarendon that there was not one Nonconformist minister to be found in the county. Thus, too, Lord Clarendon writes to his brother, from Coventry, "They assure me that there has not been a conventicle in this town for above a year, and that executing the law upon Nonconformists in making them pay, has brought them all to Church."—*Clarendon Correspondence*, i., 192.

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most suitable to compass his favourite object. By two laws, passed in the late reign, it had been provided that all officers, civil and military, should qualify for their places by partaking of the Communion according to the usage of the Church of England, and by making a declaration against Transubstantiation and the errors of Popery. These tests, hateful though they are in principle, had seemed to the most enlightened men of that time absolutely necessary to guard against the aggressive policy of Romanism, and now that a prince professing that faith was on the throne, they certainly were not less required. Yet it was known that the regiments newly raised to suppress the Western rebellion were officered by men who had not taken the test, and who were Romanists.

Excitement in the country.

An intense anxiety was awakened. The King and his courtiers declaimed openly against the tests. It was said that it was an affront to the Crown to support such odious laws; that they must needs be repealed in the next session of Parliament, and that in the meantime the King, by his prerogative, might dispense with them. Such words used by those in high places of trust and repeated abroad, increased the prevalent dismay. "The clergy," says Burnet, "who for the most part had hitherto run in with fury to all the King's interests, began now to open their eyes." * The pulpits resounded with warnings against the dangers of Popery.

Parliament opposes the King's projects.

The meeting of Parliament was looked for with the greatest impatience, though it was feared by

* Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 418.

many that that carefully-packed assembly would prove unequal to the occasion. In November it reassembled. The King, in his speech, informed the Houses that he had increased the permanent land forces, and employed officers who had not taken the Test. It was now to be seen whether Parliament, in its address in answer to the speech, would sanction this policy. The Lords were courtier-like, and did not express their disapproval. The Commons, after a violent and eager debate, voted an address to the King remonstrating against the employment of officers who had not taken the Test, and requesting the King to remove them. * Thus, in a House of Commons which may be said to have been selected by him, the King was defeated. It was now remembered how, in their first session, the Committee of Religion in the House of Commons had decided to move the House to stand by the King in defence of the reformed religion of the Church of England with their lives and fortunes, and how the House had resolved that they relied on his Majesty's repeated declarations to support and defend the religion of the Church of England, which was dearer to them than their lives. † It was seen that, in spite of all precautions, this Parliament would not serve the purposes of James. The House of Lords soon showed itself of the same temper as the Commons, and even the bench of bishops, generally that part of the House most devoted to the Crown, was forward in opposing its views.

* *Life of James II.*, ii., 54. † Dalrymple, i., ii., 194.

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Compton, Bishop of London.

Dr. Henry Compton at this time presided over the See of London. He was the son of the Earl of Northampton, a nobleman who had fought for Charles I., and he himself, when a young man, had borne arms in the Guards. He was a divine distinguished by his zeal against Popery and arbitrary power, and was no favourite of the King's. Though entrusted with the care of the education of the princesses, it is said that to the dislike of their father to him, Sancroft owed his elevation to the primacy, James having persuaded his brother that it was better not to select any of the bishops, in fear lest Compton should be chosen.* Bishop Compton now moved in the House of Lords for a day to take the King's speech into consideration, and declared that he spoke in the name of all his brethren, that the whole constitution, civil and ecclesiastical, was in danger. †

Parliament prorogued.

Thus checked, both in Lords and Commons, the King, too obstinate to yield, prorogued the Parliament, and took the small revenge of removing Bishop Compton from the Deanery of the Chapel Royal, and from the position of Privy Counsellor. As soon as Parliament was prorogued, the King endeavoured to work upon the leading men of the opposition by sending for them privately, and remonstrating with them. These interviews were called *closetings*, but they did not produce much effect. James had not the personal

* D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, i., 152, and note.
† Dalrymple, i., iii., 63. Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 425.

adroitness of his brother, and the temper of the nation was manifest to all.

The French Protestants.

While the King of England was showing the spirit and views in which he had determined to administer the regal office, his friend, patron, and paymaster, Louis XIV., was scandalizing Europe by the hideous cruelties and oppressions which he was employing against the French Protestants. The edict which had so long protected these peaceable and industrious citizens, had, in a moment of frenzied bigotry, been revoked, and all the machinery of persecution which even Jesuit malice could devise, was employed to crush and annihilate them. They came by thousands to our shores, their woes and their virtues were on every tongue, and the country demanded as one man to be allowed to help them. Even the King, though he cordially approved the policy which was exterminating them,* was forced to give license for a general collection in their favour, and the nation quickly responded by a contribution so large, that (according to Mr. Hallam) none of the munificent subscriptions of our own age has borne so great a proportion to the means of the nation.† The permission to make a general collection on behalf of the perse-

* Barillon, the French Ambassador, writes to his master:—"His Britannic Majesty heard with pleasure the wonderful progress with which God had blessed your Majesty's cares with regard to the conversion of your subjects." Again:—"His Britannic Majesty spoke of what you have done to extirpate heresy in France as a thing that gave him great pleasure."—Dalrymple, appendix to book iv., part i.

† *Const. Hist.*, ch. xiv. Forty thousand pounds was paid into the common fund.

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cuted Hugonots had been given by the King before the opening of Parliament; the collection did not actually take place till the following year. In the meantime, every sort of difficulty and discouragement was thrown in the way of those who were interested in their behalf, and it was clearly seen that though a permission had been given by the King for motives of self-interest, no real sympathy was felt by him for these unfortunate sufferers. *

Unpopularity of the King.

His extorted concession, therefore, only increased his unpopularity, which now, within the compass of less than a year, had reached an extraordinary height. The country had acquiesced in the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion, but the cold-blooded executions which followed had filled all men with horror. The condemnation of Mrs. Lisle and Mrs. Gaunt for extending hospitality to some of the fugitives—the fearful sight of a woman of nearly eighty years of age hanged for an imaginary crime, and of another famous for her good works burned to death—these things, as well as the judicial murder of Alderman Cornish, taught every one in the nation that they were governed by a man without justice and without pity. The Church of England, thoroughly alarmed for her dearest interests, had assumed an attitude of watchfulness, and

* After the collection had been paid in, no part of it was allowed to be given to those who refused to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the Church of England. This was evidently done by the King at once to embarrass the French Protestants and to cast a stigma on the Church of England. Claude's book, describing their sufferings, was ordered to be burnt by the common hangman.

was preparing for a struggle. Only a few of her prelates appeared to countenance the Court measures. Of these, Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, lent his pen to the service of the Court, and became clerk of the closet. Crewe, Bishop of Durham, succeeded Compton as Dean of the Chapel and Privy Counsellor;* and Turner, Bishop of Ely, a prelate of a higher stamp, was content, as yet, to preach courtly sermons and exalt the divine right of kings.† The Dissenters were still more hostile to the government, and still more alarmed than the members of the Church. James hated them with a special intensity, as the great promoters of the Exclusion Bill; and it was his original policy to employ the Church in the odious office of crushing them.‡ Thus, at the first meeting of the House of Commons, their committee for religion had called for the execution of the penal laws against Dissenters, and the infamous man who disgraced the ermine of an English judge, had been instructed to browbeat, vituperate, and imprison the venerable Richard Baxter — the most moderate, the most distinguished, and the most devout of the Nonconformists.§ At no time during the late

* Kennett, iii., 445.

† "The Bishop of Ely preached at Whitehall, on Numbers, xi., 12, a Court oration upon the regal office."—Evelyn's *Diary*.

‡ Kennett, iii., 445.

§ Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 368. Oldmixon, ii., 697. Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 438. The account of what passed when Baxter was tried before Judge Jeffries, which is given in detail in the authorities cited above, is probably the most astounding exhibition ever made in an English court of justice. The ground on which he was arraigned was the supposed seditious tendency of certain

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reign did persecution so abound as now. Not only were conventicles sought out and suppressed with an untiring zeal and the utmost ingenuity of malice, but Dissenting ministers were afraid to appear in public, being constantly watched and unscrupulously seized if they were detected.*

Regulations for ordination, &c.

During this anxious and troubled period, the Primate was tranquilly occupied in arranging with the bishops of his province some better regulations about ordinations and institutions to cure of souls. The bishops agreed—(1.) That they would ordain no man under the canonical age, nor (2.) institute any man who had been so ordained. (3.) That they would not ordain in ordinary cases without the University degree; (4.) nor without proper testimonials for three years; (5.) nor without a fitting title and maintenance. (6.) That they would not ordain for other dioceses than their own except by letters dismissory. (7.) That they would ordain no man except on the Lord's days following the *jejunia quatuor temporum*, except the Archbishop grant a faculty for an ordination *extrà tempora*. (8.) That they would ordain no man deacon and priest in one day, and ordinarily not without an interval of a year between. (9.) That they would ordain none but such as shall present the required papers a full month before the day of ordination, and shall have been carefully examined by the archdeacon and bishop. (10.) That a general register

passages in his *Commentary on the New Testament*. He suffered nearly two years' imprisonment.

* Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 438.

should be kept by the archbishop of all persons ordained, and a careful account furnished to him by the several bishops. *

King's dispensing power affirmed by the judges.

Meanwhile, the King, whom the resistance of his Parliament to his arbitrary will with respect to Romanists rather exasperated than warned, was determined to attempt to do, by his own authority, that which it was evident the legislature would not perform at his bidding. It had been suggested by the new chief justice, Sir Edward Herbert, that the King, by his prerogative, might dispense with laws. Herbert was an amiable and upright man, but a poor lawyer ; † and by this strange doctrine, showed himself to be but ill informed in the spirit of the English constitution. His opinion, however, was eagerly accepted. The twelve judges were sent for and *closeted*, and those who would not agree to this view were removed.‡ The bench being thus packed, a case to try the point was soon found. Sir Edward Hales, who had accepted the commission of a colonel, being a Romanist, and having the King's dispensation, was informed against by his coachman for not having qualified as the Test Act required. After a show of arguing the coachman's case, a host of venal lawyers maintained on the other side that the Crown of England was an imperial crown and absolute, that the laws were the King's laws, and that the lawgiver must needs have a power to dispense with his own enact-

* Wilkins's *Concilia*. D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, i., 213.
† Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 427.
‡ Kennett, iii., 451.

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ments.* The judges decided in favour of this view *without giving their reasons*. Thus the Court of King's Bench had, as far as it could, turned the monarchy of England into a despotic tyranny.† Of course, after this, a man of the character of the King would proceed without hesitation or scruple in his favourite policy. What was there to hinder or oppose him? Parliament was in abeyance and could not raise its voice. The courts of law were his obsequious tools. There was only one power in the State from which he had anything to fear—that power was the Church of England. It was the Church which, at this critical juncture, saved the liberties of the country.

Promotion and open favour of Romanists.

Romanists were now admitted into all places of the highest trust. A Romanist judge took his seat on the bench by virtue of the King's dispensing power. Four Romanist lords were sworn of the Privy Council, and Father Petre, the Queen's Confessor, the Vice-Provincial of the Jesuits in England, was not only a member of the Council, but of the secret or interior junto of seven, where all the strange follies of the royal policy were concocted.‡ In

* *Life of James II.*, ii., 81-83. Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 427. Evelyn's *Diary*.

† "This judgment resounded through all parts of England and drew down imprecations upon the judges. A saying of Lord Chief Justice Hale's was everywhere repeated, 'That the twelve red-coats in Westminster Hall were able to do more mischief to the nation than as many thousands in the field.'"—Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, i., iv., 70. "As to the judges, they are most of them rogues," said Lord Jeffries, a good judge in such matters.—Clarendon's *Diary*.

‡ Kennett, iii., 452. *Life of James*, ii., 74, 76. Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 429.

this conclave of conspirators against the liberties of their country, there was one man of great powers, but of a baseness beyond the reach of ordinary politicians—the Earl of Sunderland. This man, who was in the pay both of William of Orange and Louis XIV., was willing to urge the King forward in his suicidal course, that he might be the leader in his counsels so long as there was any need of counsels. He now affected to have been converted to Romanism, that being a necessary condition of influence, and used Father Petre as his tool and instrument in encouraging the King in his projects for setting up the Romish religion in England. Honours were now profusely showered upon every one who would declare himself a convert, and all the apparatus of the new faith was ostentatiously paraded before the eyes of astonished Englishmen. Three vicars apostolic were consecrated bishops *in partibus*, with all the ceremony and pomp which that Church which has devoted its chief energies to getting up grand shows, knows so well how to use. The King took the Chapel of St. James's for his worship. Fourteen Benedictine monks were settled there, while at the Savoy the Jesuits built a college and a chapel. A body of Franciscans established themselves in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and a company of Carmelites in the City. Throughout the country Romish chapels were being rapidly built, and strange processions of men clad in outlandish vestments provoked ridicule, and excited riots in every town.* It was time

* *Life of James II.*, ii., 79.

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for the clergy of the Church of England to take a bold stand if the field was not to be altogether abandoned to the enemy.

The English clergy preach and write against Romanism.

Everywhere the clergy nobly responded to the call of duty. In the Chapel Royal itself, Bishop Ken, with a fearless and apostolic zeal, pleaded the cause of the French Protestants, and denounced the hideous barbarity of the government and of the religion in whose name these things were done.* In the same chapel, Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester, preached so strongly against the dangers of Romanism that the King complained of his sermon to the archbishop.† Alarmed by the general prevalence of such sermons, the King required the archbishops to publish certain injunctions to the clergy to restrain them from controversial preaching.‡ The injunctions were published, but not much regarded. "Many of the clergy," says Bishop Burnet, "acted now a part that made good amends for past errors. They began to preach generally against Popery, which the Dissenters did not. They set themselves to study the points of controversy, and upon that there followed a great variety of small books that were easily purchased and soon read. They examined all the points of Popery with a solidity of judgment, a clearness of arguing, a depth of learning and a

* Evelyn's *Diary*. *Life of Ken*, by a Layman, i., 323. The bishop himself contributed "great part of a fine of four thousand pounds."—Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 22.

† *Life of Ken*, by a Layman, i., 324, and Bishop of Gloucester's Letter in *Tanner MSS.*, 30, 7.

‡ D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, i., 220.

vivacity of expression far beyond anything that had appeared before in our language."* On the other side there was no writer of mark, and scarce any that could compose in decent English, or display any learning or logical acuteness. The writers who now appeared on the side of the English Church, do not (with the exception perhaps of Stillingfleet) occupy the foremost rank in the great army of controversialists who have exposed the errors of Rome. Tillotson, Tenison, Wake and Sherlock, cannot be ranged side by side with Field, Crakanthorp, Chillingworth and Hall, with Andrewes, Reynolds, Jeremy Taylor and Isaac Barrow. They were, however, sufficient to overwhelm in utter confusion the weak and illiterate band to which they were opposed.†

Treachery within the Church.

Had it been merely a question of controversy, the triumph would have been an easy one for the Church of England. But there was a far greater danger. In every communion, base and interested men will be found ready to betray for gain the most sacred trusts, and such traitors were not wanting at this critical juncture. An obscure clergyman named Edward Sclater, proclaimed himself a convert to Romanism, and accepted the royal dispensation to enable him to hold his benefices. At Oxford, a more dangerous pervert appeared in the person of Obadiah Walker, Master

* Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 429.

† "It was impossible for any intelligent and candid Roman Catholic to deny that the champions of his Church were in every talent and acquirement completely overmatched."—*Macaulay*.

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of University College, who had influence enough to make several proselytes to his new creed,* and who was licensed by the King to hold the headship of his college, and to have Romish worship performed in the chapel. The same sight was soon witnessed in the cathedral of Christ Church, where a lay Fellow of Merton, named John Massey, was appointed Dean, apparently simply because he was a Romanist.† Mention has already been made of Samuel Parker, the advocate of Hobbism in religion, the man who could not be contented to persecute the Nonconformists from whom he himself was a renegade, without foully traducing them. This man, a fit instrument for any infamy, was made Bishop of Oxford; and into the place of the learned and venerable John Pearson, the most exact and judicious of divines, was thrust Thomas Cartwright, Dean of Ripon, whose private character was so bad, that it was presumed with good reason he would not hesitate to go any lengths in ecclesiastical crimes.‡ From these her false and

* Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 430. Dispensations were granted in May of this year, to Obadiah Walker, Nathaniel Boyse, and Thomas Deane, Master and Fellows of University College, to absent themselves from Church and Common Prayer, from the Lord's Supper, and from taking Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance. Also a license to Obadiah Walker, to *sell Popish books*, and to Edmund Sclater, Rector of Putney and Esher, to the same effect, and to enable him to keep a public scool.—Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*.

† The dispensation to John Massey to enter upon the office of Dean of Christ Church without taking orders, and without making the canonical oaths and subscriptions, and absolving him from all the penal statutes, &c., will be found in Singer's *Clarendon Correspondence*, ii., 472.

‡ Articles were exhibited against Thomas Cartwright, some of

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treacherous children there was a great danger to the Church of England. The putting men disqualified by law into civil or military posts, might be perilous to the State, because it argued the use of a despotic power over-riding the laws, but it was nothing when compared to the policy of deliberately thrusting men into high positions in the Church, who were actually pledged to overthrow the Church in whose name they acted.

Severe measures taken against the clergy.

And this deliberate and bitter assault upon the Church of England was accompanied by arbitrary and fierce persecutions of those who dared to oppose the ruin meditated for their faith. In February of this year, the King writes to Lord Clarendon in Ireland: "The bishops here have promised me that they will do their parts to hinder any such kind of sermons (against Popery), and upon that account I made your brother (Earl of Rochester, Lord Treasurer) give Dr. Sherlock a severe reproof, and have stopped a pension he had." * If an ordinary sermon, from a man so eminent as the Master of the Temple, obtained so severe a punishment, we can scarcely wonder at the severities inflicted upon Mr. Samuel Johnson, who, it must be confessed, had exceeded all bounds of discretion, and clearly transgressed the law by publishing an address to the soldiers in the army, exhorting them to refuse

which, says Bishop Burnet, "are too scandalous to be repeated." The Primate was long doubtful whether he would consecrate him, but at last complied from fear of a *premunire*. Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 442. D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, i., 237. Kennett, iii., 462.

* *Correspondence of Henry Earl of Clarendon*, i., 258.

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obedience to Papists. As formerly chaplain to Lord Russell, and as the author of *Julian the Apostate*, Mr. Johnson was a marked man; and in Trinity term he was arraigned before the Court of King's Bench, and for the offence "of publishing seditious and scandalous libels" was sentenced to be three times set in the pillory, to pay a fine of five hundred marks, and to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn.*

The case of Dr. Sharp.

But the censure which attracted the greatest attention was that attempted against Dr. Sharp, Dean of Norwich and Rector of St. Giles's in the Fields. "Dr. Sharp," says Burnet, "was both a very pious man and one of the most popular preachers of the age, who had a peculiar talent of reading his sermons with much life and zeal. He received, one day, as he was coming out of the pulpit, a paper sent him, as he believed, by a priest, containing a sort of challenge upon some points of controversy touched by him in some of his sermons. Upon this, he not knowing to whom he should send an answer, preached a sermon in answer to it; and, after he had confuted it, he concluded, showing how unreasonable it was for Protestants to change their religion upon such grounds."† The challenge had evidently been a

* Kennett, iii., 452. The sentence was executed in November. Before it was carried into effect, the ceremony of degrading Mr. Johnson from his orders was gone through by the Bishops of Durham, Rochester, and Peterborough, in the chapter-house of St. Paul's. A striking account of it, and of the punishment which followed, will be found in Macaulay (chap. vi.). It is very singular that no mention of Johnson is to be found in Burnet.

† Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 430.

trap set for the Doctor. Information was at once carried to Court, and, on June 14, the King addressed a letter to the Bishop of London: "Whereas, we have been informed that Dr. John Sharp, Rector of the parish church of St. Giles, notwithstanding our late letter to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, hath, in some of his sermons since preached, presumed to make unbecoming reflections, and to utter such expressions as were not fit and proper for him, endeavouring thereby to beget in the minds of his hearers an evil opinion of us and our government.....These are to require and command you immediately, upon receipt hereof, forthwith to suspend him from further preaching in any parish church or chapel in your diocese until he has given us satisfaction." * Four days after receiving this startling letter Bishop Compton replied, stating that he had sent for the accused divine and acquainted him with his Majesty's displeasure, and that he found him ready to give all reasonable satisfaction, to prove which he himself was the bearer of the letter. No notice was taken of this. On the Sunday following, therefore, Dr. Sharp went to Windsor with a petition to the King, declaring his sorrow at having incurred the King's displeasure, his loyalty and abhorrence of faction and sedition, and his desire for pardon if any inadvertent expressions of his were capable of an offensive construction. No notice was taken of this petition, but on Tuesday, August 3, the Bishop of London received a citation to appear at

* Kennett, iii., 457.

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Whitehall before "his Majesty's Commissioners for causes ecclesiastical."*

Court of Ecclesiastical Commission.

This court, so famous in the history of this reign, had been in existence about four months, but had not yet acted. Its formation was one of the choice efforts of the Jesuit junto which directed the counsels of the misguided King,† and it combined most happily the characteristics of being utterly illegal, flagrantly unjust, and peculiarly insulting to that Church which it was now so eagerly sought to humiliate and degrade. The Court of High Commission, organised by the statute 1 Eliz., had been, to the great joy of all men, abolished by the statute, 17 Car. I., one of the last perfectly legal enactments of that reign; and it had been provided in this statute, as strongly as words could put it, that it should never be competent to the Crown to revive this court. After the Restoration, it was argued by some opponents of the Church, that all power of discipline was, by this law, taken away from it, in consequence of which *An Act for the Explanation of a clause contained in an Act 17 Car. I.*, was brought in in the thirteenth year of Charles II., which provided "That neither the said Act, nor anything therein contained, doth or shall take away any ordinary power or authority from any of the said archbishops, bishops, or any other person or persons named; and that the afore-recited act, and all matters and clauses therein contained (*excepting*

* Kennett, u. s.

† Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, i., iv., 68.

what concerns the High Commission Court, or *the erection of some such like new Court by commission*), shall be, and is hereby, repealed.....Provided always that neither this Act, nor anything therein contained, shall extend or be construed to revive or give force to the said branch of the said statute, made in 1 Eliz., and mentioned in the act 17 Car. I.; but that the said branch of the said statute, 1 Eliz., shall stand and be repealed in such sort as if this Act had never been made." * Words could do no more to declare the illegality of any Court similar to the one suppressed, but the Court lawyers could interpret words in any fashion which suited their master's wishes. It was seen that a Court constituted by the King, bound by no laws, and with irresponsible powers, would be a most useful instrument in overthrowing the Church of England. It was, therefore, declared legal for the King to erect it, and it was done accordingly. An attempt indeed was made to save appearances of legality by not giving in the Commission the power of fining, maiming, and imprisoning, which the old High Commission Court had so freely used, but confining its punishment to "the censures of the Church." †

But this of itself was so great an anomaly as to condemn the whole proceeding. The court consisted of four laymen and three bishops. The Lord Chancellor with two others formed a quorum. It was not to be expected that the bishops, if they

* Kennett, iii., 456.

† See the *Commission*, in Kennett, iii., 454.

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acted at all, would be found acting against their own order. Thus the court would be left to two obsequious laymen and Lord Jeffries! To this tribunal was given the power of excommunication, suspension, and spiritual censure! It is scarcely to be wondered at that even the contrivers of this court, hardly more illegal than ridiculous, did not venture to use it for some months after the commission had been issued. But now, at last, it was determined to try its powers upon the obnoxious Bishop of London. He was a prelate, for many reasons and on many grounds, disliked by the King. It was worth risking something to procure his overthrow.

The prelates who were in the Commission.

But would any prelates of the English Church suffer their names to remain on this anomalous commission, and thus, even if they did not attend the sittings, yet give a sort of ecclesiastical complexion to the proceedings? It is, without doubt, a tarnish upon the Church, which at this period was earning for itself so great honour, that three prelates were found to act as commissioners, and that even the Primate, who was originally nominated, though he declined to take part in the sittings, yet did it without that bold protest which became his position and character. The noble stand which Sancroft afterwards made, has redeemed him from the reproach of pusillanimity, and loyalty and respect for the kingly office were almost a second nature to him. Yet there were, doubtless, many good churchmen in England who were pained at seeing their Primate plead age and

infirmities and press of business to excuse him from attending the Commission Court, "in which," as he says, "so many great and able persons are engaged," without one word of disapprobation of the measure, or censure of the illegality of the court.* It was an obvious retaliation for the King to make, to say that if the Primate was so oppressed with infirmity that he could not attend the new court, he would also relieve him from attendance at the Privy Council. But the other prelates named in the commission were more obsequious than the Primate. The most respectable of these was Sprat, Bishop of Rochester. Yet it was insinuated, not without good ground, that the hope of promotion to the vacant Archbishopric of York, bribed this prelate to betray his Church and the laws of his country, while those who were better informed knew that the northern primacy was intended for Father

* See Archbishop Sancroft's Petition, printed from *Tanner MSS.* in *Clarendon Correspondence*, ii., 477, and D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, i., 223. The conduct of the Primate is the more strange as there are still to be seen in the *Tanner MSS.* long and elaborate papers in his own hand, discussing the matter, and proving the Court to be illegal. It is also known that, expecting himself to be summoned before the Court, he kept a paper ready drawn up protesting against its jurisdiction, and that he disapproved of the conduct of the Bishop of London in pleading at all to the charges. It was the Archbishop's intention, on the ground of the illegality of the Court, to refuse to plead altogether, and afterwards to defend himself at common law against any sentence which might be passed.—D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, i., 232. Yet, with these strong opinions, he declined to sit on *entirely different ground*. Lord Macaulay's censure seems here not undeserved. "These disingenuous apologies ill became the Primate of England at such a crisis."—*History of England*, ch. vi.

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Petre, and that a dispensation for him as a Jesuit to hold a bishopric was actually being sued for at Rome.* The other two prelates were Crewe, Bishop of Durham, a mean-spirited sycophant, who said, "he could not live if he should lose the King's gracious smiles,"† and Cartwright, the new Bishop of Chester, who was put in the place of the Primate.‡

Trial and sentence of the Bishop of London.

Before this court the Bishop of London was now cited to appear, for the offence of not having suspended Dr. Sharp according to order. He appeared, attended by many persons of great quality, but his defence was humble and deferential. He excepted, indeed to the legality of the court, but, his exception being overruled, he asserted that he had obeyed the King's injunctions, as far as it was possible for him to do so, by having requested Dr. Sharp to abstain from preaching, but that he was unable to suspend him formally, as that could only be done in a certain manner, and for certain reasons, defined by the law. There was nothing said of a wrong done by a bishop being required to censure a clergyman at the mere pleasure of the King, but the defence set up was, that the King's directions had substantially been complied with. There was somewhat of double dealing in this, and it corresponds but too well with the bishop's conduct two years later. It was obvious to reply on

* Burnet, p. 431. Kennett, iii., 461. † Burnet, u. s.

‡ The lay members of the Court were, Lord Jeffries (Lord Chancellor), Sir Edward Herbert (Lord Chief Justice), Earl of Rochester (Lord Treasurer), Earl of Sunderland (Chief Secretary of State).

the King's side, that "it was plain enough that whatever forms were requisite, it was in the bishop's power to have pursued them had he been sincere and hearty in the matter." * No case, however, could be made out for punishing the bishop with any show of justice. The Lord Treasurer, the Chief Justice, and the Bishop of Rochester, were for acquitting him, the Lord Chancellor and the Bishop of Durham for his suspension. † It appeared as if the prey, so diligently hunted, would still escape. The King sent for his brother-in-law, the Earl of Rochester, and told him plainly that he must pronounce the bishop guilty, or resign his post as Lord Treasurer. ‡ Lord Rochester basely yielded, and the Bishop of London was pronounced guilty of "disobedience and contempt," and suspended from his office. The Bishops of Durham, Rochester, and Peterborough were appointed to execute it. § His revenues and residence he was suffered to retain, for to have touched his freehold would have brought the matter into the King's Bench, and Chief Justice Herbert had already declared against the legality of the sentence.

Dismissal of Lord Rochester.

Lord Rochester had unworthily complied in the matter of the Bishop of London's sentence, but he was still heartily attached to the Church of England. His artful rival, Sunderland, saw that he might bring about his shipwreck on this rock.

* *Life of James II.*, ii., 92.

† The deep and designing Lord Sunderland appears to have absented himself from the Court.

‡ Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 432.

§ Kennett, iii., 359-60. Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, i., iv., 77-79.

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He told the King that the Lord Treasurer was inclined to change his religion, and would be glad to hear the arguments in favour of Romanism well stated at a conference. The King delighted at the prospect, proposed this to his brother-in-law. Lord Rochester at first angrily rejecting the proposal, afterwards yielded to it, and was allowed to select two divines of the Church of England to contend against the Romanist advocates in the King's presence. He took the royal chaplains who happened to be in waiting, Doctors Patrick and Jane, but he scarcely made use of their services, for he himself answered with great force and vigour the arguments of the Romanists, and declared himself entirely unconvinced by them. The King, disappointed and indignant, removed him from the post of Lord Treasurer, and now no one of any influence remained in the royal councils to make any stand whatever for the interests of the Church of England. The whole affairs of the nation were transacted by the King, Father Petre, a weak and vain man, and Sunderland, the crafty designing schemer, who used the others as his puppets.*

The embassy to Rome.

The thorough contempt into which the government of James had already fallen at home, may have been somewhat redeemed in his estimation, by the honours lavished by the Jesuits upon his ambassador at Rome. A pompous and useless

* Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, i., iv., 81, 82. "My Lord Sunderland had got such an ascendant over Father Petre, and by him so great a power with the King, that he was now in a manner become sole minister."—*Life of James*, by himself.

embassy* had been despatched to the Court of the Pope in defiance of the laws, and Roger Palmer, Earl of Castlemaine, had been employed on the mission, his principal business being to solicit a cardinal's cap for Father Petre.† The Pope indeed would not grant this, nor in any way show favour to the faction of the Jesuits and the King of France, but the Jesuit colleges belauded the English Ambassador in marvellously bad Latin, and extolled his master with adulation little short of blasphemy.‡

King determines to favour Dissenters.

And now in irritation against the Church of England for its determined opposition to his designs, and plain and unhesitating stand against Romanism, the King determined to change his plans. It had been his original policy to satisfy the Church by the persecution of the Nonconformists, and to use her traditionary loyalty to the throne as a means to establish "the King's religion," which once firmly seated in power, would (his Jesuits told him) be soon able to overthrow and destroy its rival. But the Church showed no inclination to favour Romanism. Armed at all points, she stood ready to do battle against it to the death. In this struggle the King saw the Protestant Dissenters would be her allies. The combination was too strong to face, and must if possible be dissolved.

* See *Life of James II.*, ii., 74.

† "That to be sure was the main drift of this pompous embassay to Rome."—*Life of James*, by himself, quoted in Clarke's *Life of James II.*, ii., 77.

‡ See Kennett, iii., 461.

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Ever since the Restoration, the Dissenters had been harassed with an unremitting persecution, of which James himself had always been an advocate and approver.* The prisons had been full of them. Scarce a Quaker in England was there who had not been in gaol, and hundreds of that oppressed sect had died there. The author of the *Pilgrim's Progress* had passed twelve years in the prison of Bedford. At the beginning of this reign the persecution had been made more bitter than ever, but if by a sudden display of mercy and toleration on the part of the King, this oppression should be taken off, and it should be at the same time shown that the Church was the real instigator of all the sufferings they had endured, assuredly the Dissenters would join as one man with the King against the Church. It was determined therefore to favour them.† Unfortunately, just at the moment some of the bishops had issued injunctions to the ministers and churchwardens to present all those who did not come to church and attend the Lord's Supper at Easter. "And it seemed," says Calamy, "to be a prevailing opinion that Dissen-

* "Four generations of Stuarts had waged a war to the death against four generations of Puritans, and through that long war there had been no Stuart who had hated the Puritans so much, or who had been so much hated by them as himself."—Macaulay, chap. vii.

† Lord Macaulay has pointed out, with his accustomed skill, the traces of this change in the poem of the *Hind and the Panther*. Dryden, as Court poet, had begun this poem in the earlier phase of the royal policy. The Church of England is at first mentioned with respect, and exhorted to ally herself with the Romanists against the Dissenters. At the close of the poem, the Dissenters are invited to make common cause with the Romanists against the Church.—*Hist. of England*, chap. vii.

ters must be prosecuted, or Popery could not be suppressed."* It was an auspicious moment for the King to commence his new policy. While the Church appeared bent on persecuting, the royal liberality opened a dispensation office, where all Nonconformists who were wealthy enough to pay fifty shillings, might have a license of impunity for themselves and their families. At the same time fines were remitted, prisoners released, and among others the venerable Richard Baxter came forth from his confinement.†

The Declaration for Liberty of Conscience.

Pleased with the effects of his new policy, and the prospect which it held out of enlisting a strong popular party on his side, which should either terrify the Church into obedience, or enable him to act in defiance of its opinions, the King now proceeded to greater lengths. On March 18, he informed his Privy Council that he had resolved to issue out a Declaration for liberty of conscience to all persons of what persuasion soever; that he had observed that the attempts made at uniformity had been ineffectual, and very prejudicial to the nation; that the Dissenters rather increased than diminished, and that nothing would be more salutary to the nation than liberty of conscience, "it having always been his opinion, as most suitable to the principles of Christianity that no man should be persecuted for conscience sake; for he thought conscience could not be forced, and that it could never be the true interest of a King of England to

* Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 374. † *Ibid.*, i., 375.

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endeavour to do it."* Noble words! but utterly inconsistent with every real sentiment of the speaker, and every act of his reign. On April 4, 1687, appeared in the *Gazette*, the famous Declaration for Liberty of Conscience. "We cannot but heartily wish," says this document, "that all the people of our dominion were members of the Catholic Church, yet we humbly thank Almighty God it is and hath a long time been our constant sense and opinion that conscience ought not to be constrained, nor people forced in matters of mere religion; we therefore out of our princely care and affection to all our loving subjects, have thought fit by virtue of our royal prerogative to issue forth this our declaration of indulgence, making no doubt of the concurrence of our two Houses of Parliament when we shall think it convenient for them to meet. In the first place, we do declare that we will protect and maintain our archbishops, bishops, and clergy, and all other our subjects of the Church of England, in the free exercise of their religion, as by law established, and in the quiet and full enjoyment of all their possessions without any molestation or disturbance whatever." The execution of all penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, is then declared to be suspended. All persons are permitted to hold any assemblies they please for religious worship, without disturbance. The tests enacted in the last reign are dispensed with, as also the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance. A pardon is granted to any who may

* Kennett, iii., 463.

have incurred penalties previously, and, lastly, an assurance is given that no disturbance of property in church and abbey lands shall take place.*

Its reception in the country.

Nothing could have been better than this Declaration, had it not been done in contempt of law, in the interests of tyranny, and for the evident purpose of the exaltation of an alien and superstitious Church. But as every sane man must have seen that these were its objects, it was scarcely deserving any commendation, and it received but little. It is true that the Dissenters presented sixty addresses belauding his Majesty's clemency, some of them in very fulsome terms; † but, remembering their provocations, they could scarcely be expected to do less. The more respectable of them did not concur in these addresses. Baxter and Howe signified their dislike of the dispensing power, and their unwillingness to purchase religious freedom at the expense of the liberties of their country.‡ It

* Kennett, iii., 463-4. "The preamble that pretended so much love and charity, and that condemned persecution, sounded strangely in the mouth of a Popish prince. The King's saying he did not doubt of his Parliament's concurring in this matter, seemed ridiculous, for it was visible by all his prorogations, that he was but too well assured that the Parliament would not concur with him in it. And the promise to maintain the subjects in their possessions of the *abbey lands*, looked as if the design of setting up Popery was thought very near being effected, since otherwise there was no need of mentioning any such thing."—Burnet's *Own Time*, 453.

† Kennett, iii., 465. Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 461. Gray's *Remarks upon Neal*. Calamy's *Baxter*, i., 356. Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 453. Dalrymple, i., iv., 89. *Life of Ken*, by a Layman, i., 362.

‡ Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 461.

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is true also that five bishops* and some clergy† thanked the King for his Declaration, but these were of the baser sort who would sacrifice all for royal favour; and even "their addresses," says Mr. Hallam, "disclose their ill-humour at the unconstitutional indulgence, limiting their thanks to some promises of favour the King had used towards the Established Church. We should have cause to blush," continues the same writer, "for the servile hypocrisy of our ancestors, if we had not good reason to believe that these addresses were sometimes the work of a small minority in the name of the rest."‡ That every nerve was strained

* Crewe, of Durham; Barlow, of Lincoln; Cartwright, of Chester; Wood, of Lichfield and Coventry; and Watson, of St. David's.—Oldmixon, ii., 721. There was not one of these bishops who was not a disgrace to the Church. Barlow, in seventeen years never visited his cathedral, and was known by the soubriquet of "The Bishop of Buckden who never saw Lincoln." Wood was notorious for the most infamous scandals. Crewe and Cartwright have been before mentioned. Watson was afterwards deprived for simony and other crimes.

† Dalrymple, i., iv., 89. Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 454. "Some few were drawn into this, but the Bishop of Oxford had so ill success in his diocese that he got but one single clergyman to concur with him in it."

‡ Hallam's *Const. Hist.*, ii., 232. Sir J. Reresby's *Memoirs*, p. 343. In connection with this matter the two following letters from the *Tanner MSS.*, vol. 29 (printed in *Ken's Life*), will be found interesting. The first is from Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Bishop of Bristol, to the Primate:

"Bristol, July 1, 1687.

"The fanatics here are very numerous, and their meetings great and frequent, but chiefly of women and the meaner sort of people—those of the better rank, even among the Presbyterians, as yet refusing to contribute any money to the building of their meeting-houses, and their company to the filling them; and some of them have been very angry with their teacher, Weekes, for

by the Court party to procure addresses in answer to the Declaration we have abundant evidence. The most favourable answers were given to those presented by Dissenters, and they were plainly told that it was only the stubborn intolerance of the Church which had prevented them from being

putting their hands to an address without their knowledge or leave to do so. The magistracy of this city are wholly averse from addressing, and one of them assures me, if offered from above, it will be rejected. My clergy, God be thanked, bravely refused it; only two in Dorsetshire giving their hands to it—the one is Pelham, the son of a Cromwellian major; the other subscriber was a curate to a person who, I hope, will prevent my dismission of him. I have given God thanks for this opportunity the begging address hath given me of declaring to the public that I am firmly of the Church of England, and not to be forced from her interest by the terrors of royal displeasure or death itself.

"Your Grace's most obedient servant,
"J. Bristol."

The other letter is from Turner, Bishop of Ely, a little later:

"Ely, August 25, 1687.

"Most Dear Friend—I sent you my hearty respects last week from Norwich, where I was upon a visit to that excellent good prelate with whom I longed to discourse upon the public affairs. I left him in expectation of being suddenly pressed afresh in the matter of addressing. I am very full of hopes that since 'tis put so hard upon the City of London to give thanks (not for any gracious expressions in the Declaration, but) for the indulgence itself, nothing less will be demanded or expected of us, and then we may fairly and flatly decline it, when once it resumes its first ugly shape and is taken out of the palliating dress which has made it the great snare to many. We must be called ungrateful if we do not give thanks for this great grace of letting loose the King's and Church's enemies. I would fain hear from you how the western bishops and the rest in his Majesty's progress have 'scaped at their interviews.

"Your most affectionate friend and servant,
"Fran. Ely."

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relieved long before.* In order to expose this intolerance, a scrutiny was ordered into all the vexatious suits which had been brought in the ecclesiastical courts against Dissenters. A commission was issued to inquire into the sums extorted by clergymen from them as hush-money. The corporations were straightway filled with Nonconformists. Honours and favours were heaped lavishly upon those who, a short time before, were proscribed, persecuted, and oppressed.† It is not to be wondered at that this sudden burst of favour turned the heads of many, and that not only addresses were sent up, but some violent pamphlets were written against the Church, in which Mr. Lobb, Mr. Alsop, and William Penn, the Quaker, were conspicuous.‡

To these attacks, however, the clergy, by general consent, made no answer.§ They began to see clearly the importance of enlisting the Dissenters on their side in the coming struggle between the Church and Romanism. They dreaded lest Nonconformists as well as Papists should be thrust into preferment, and fanatical addresses again be heard in the London pulpits.‖ They saw themselves menaced on every side by appalling dangers, and they wisely determined to enlist all the help that was possible on their side. Perhaps many of them were too prodigal in their promises of what they

* Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 454.
† Sir J. Reresby's *Memoirs*. Dalrymple, i., iv., 87.
‡ Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 462.
§ Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 454.
‖ Neal, iv., 463.

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would do in better times. Perhaps some of the leading men may have held out hopes of a larger comprehension and greater concessions than they afterwards were ready to make. In this anxious and troubled time, it is probable that neither Churchmen nor Nonconformists were altogether free from blame, but, upon the whole, the conduct of both does them high honour. *

King's policy meets with little success.

The King's policy by no means met with the success which had been anticipated for it. Dissenting magistrates were installed in office, and invited to attend conventicles; but they refused, and preferred attending Church. The Nonconformist preachers who had declared themselves gratified by the Declaration, were despised and deserted by their flocks. The great officers of the Court refused to approve of the King's policy, and were dismissed. The members of Parliament were closeted, but not convinced. "Not one considerable proselyte," says Evelyn, "was made in all this time." Everywhere the leading divines of the threatened Church boldly denounced the superstitions of Rome, and "the party were exceedingly put to the worst."† The eloquence of Bishop Ken, the most admired preacher of the day, attracted

* The publication which had most effect at this time in enlisting the thinking part of the Dissenters on the side of the Church rather than the King, was *The Letter to a Dissenter*, supposed to be written by Lord Halifax. Twenty thousand copies of this were sold. It was a short but extremely able tract. The substance of it will be found in Neal, iv., 464.

† Evelyn's *Diary* (March 10, 1687). Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 456.

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vast crowds of people whenever he appeared in any of the London churches,* and wherever he preached, Ken denounced, in no measured terms, the errors of Rome.

The King goes on progress.

Having determined to call a new Parliament, the King now went on an extended progress through a great part of England, hoping, by personal interviews, by blandishments, and bribes, to influence the country gentlemen to fall in with his views.† At Bath, where the Queen was staying for her health, he went through the ceremony of touching for the evil, which had always been a popular proceeding of our kings. This was not, however, now, as in the days of his brother and father, accompanied by a form of prayer approved by the bishops of the English Church. An old form was revived, which attributed all to the intercession of the Blessed Virgin, and good Bishop Ken was obliged to witness in the abbey church at Bath the decking of the altar, and the obsequious attendance of the Jesuits, while the King performed

* "The Bishop of Bath and Wells preached at St. Margaret's to a crowd of people not to be expressed, nor the wonderful eloquence of this admirable preacher."—Evelyn's *Diary*.

† An order actually appeared in the Gazette, "That whereas his Majesty was resolved to use his utmost endeavours that his Declaration of Indulgence might pass into a law; he therefore thought fit to renew the lists of deputy-lieutenants and justices of peace in the several counties, that those may be continued who would be ready to contribute what in them lies towards the accomplishment of so good and necessary a work, and such others added to them from whom his Majesty may reasonably expect the like concurrence and assistance."—Neal's *Puritans*, iv., 466.

the ceremony.* Everywhere in this progress the King was received with acclamations and addresses, as royal visitors are wont to be, and in no place did he receive more tokens of respect that at Oxford, where he arrived at the beginning of September.

The outrage on Magdalen College.

A matter of considerable importance required his attention here. In April of this year, the headship of Magdalen College being vacant, the King had issued to the fellows a warrant or command to elect one Anthony Farmer to that distinguished and lucrative post. Farmer did not fulfil the conditions required by the statutes; he either was, or was about to become, a Romanist; the fellows were in no way bound to accept the King's nominee, even if eminent, orthodox, and statutory. They remonstrated, but in so humble a fashion, that they professed their readiness to accept any suitable candidate the King should name. A contemptuous answer was returned by Lord Sunderland. They were bid to obey and elect Farmer. Then on the last day allowed by the statutes, they met in their chapel and elected Dr.

* *Life of Ken*, by a Layman, i., 377, sq. Bishop Ken thus writes to Sancroft:—"I had not time to remonstrate, and if I had done it, it would have had no effect but only to provoke..... But being well aware what advantage the Romanists take from the least seeming compliances, I took occasion on Sunday, from the Gospel, the subject of which was the Samaritan, to discourse of charity, which I said ought to be the religion of the whole world, and though we could not open the church-doors to a worship different from that we paid to God, yet we should always set them open to a common work of charity," &c.—*Tanner MSS.*, 29, 6, 5, quoted in *Life of Ken*.

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Hough to be their President. He was immediately confirmed by the Bishop of Winchester and installed. Straightway, the same illegal tribunal which had suspended Bishop Compton, was brought to bear upon the new President and Fellows. Dr. Hough and two of the fellows were suspended. This was going a step further than had been ventured in the Bishop of London's case. He had been suspended *ab officio*, but his revenues had been untouched. The President and Fellows of Magdalen were deprived of their freeholds. The news ran like an electric shock through the country. Even property and freehold were henceforth to be held on the precarious tenure of the arbitrary will of a despot.* Yet James could not see the extreme peril of his proceedings. He went to Oxford, sent for the audacious Fellows of Magdalen, lectured them like schoolboys, and despatched them to their chapel, with strict orders to elect at once Parker, Bishop of Oxford, as their President. This was the man of whom Burnet justly said, that "it was a sufficient lampoon upon the age, that he was a bishop."† The fellows went to the chapel, consulted together, and refused to obey the imperious order. Such a resolution, at such a time, in the University which had not yet unlearnt the most obsequious loyalty, is beyond praise. The King left Oxford baffled and thwarted. If he had

* "The nation looked on all this proceeding with a just indignation. It was thought an open piece of robbery and burglary, when men authorized by no legal commission, came and forcibly turned men out of their possession and freehold."—Burnet.

† Burnet's *Answer to Parker*. Oldmixon, ii., 728.

been capable of receiving instruction, he might have left it instructed. In two months' time, a branch of the ecclesiastical commission, presided over by Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, arrived at Oxford, to reduce the contumacious fellows. Dr. Hough was a man equal to the occasion. With a noble intrepidity he resisted their arbitrary proceedings, denied the legality of the commission, and appealed to the Courts of Westminster. His name was struck off the college books, the doors of his lodgings were broken open, and the Bishop of Oxford installed by proxy as President. For a moment the fellows hesitated, but then animated by a better spirit, they refused to acknowledge him, and braved the King's displeasure. The commissioners, not knowing what to do in this extreme case, returned to London. The King sent them back again, with orders to enforce obedience at all hazards. They came again (November 16), and finding the college still contumacious, deprived all the fellows except two, and appointed new ones in their places. Soon afterwards, on the death of Bishop Parker, a new mandate came to the new fellows, to elect as their President Doctor Gifford,* titular Bishop of Madura, and one of the vicars apostolical of England.† This eminent college

* "The King conceiving this college to be *forfeited into his hands*, and by consequence at his disposal, made the Catholic Bishop Gifford President of it, and filled up most of the fellowships with Catholics."—*Life of James II.*

† Dalrymple, i., iv., 90-3. Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 444. Wood's *Athenæ*. Wilmot's *Life of Hough*. *Life of James II.*, ii., 119—125. Macpherson's *Original Papers*, i., 274. The most minute account will be found in Kennett, iii., 475—481.

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had thus done much to atone for the reproach which clung around University College and Christ Church, for submitting tamely to their apostate heads, and to redeem the University from the disgrace of a too abject devotion to the doctrines of Filmer. Cambridge once as loyal as Oxford, had already nobly distinguished herself by her spirited refusal to grant a degree of M.A., to Francis, a Benedictine Monk, and had not only the spirit to protest, but the courage to persevere, and the good fortune to triumph. But amidst these repeated acts of treachery and tyranny on the part of the King, what a fearful prospect was there before the true-hearted sons of the Church of England!

Church divines look to the Prince of Orange.

It was now that many of them, seeing the dearest interests of their religion at stake, began to look across the water to the next heir to the throne and to the able prince to whom she was married. William of Orange was too reserved a man for his character to be much understood in England, but he was at least known to be a determined enemy to Popery. His interests, his tastes, the traditions of his family, all set him ardently against the religion of the French king, his implacable enemy—the religion which had drenched his country in blood—the religion which knows neither equity, pity, nor remorse! The amiable princess who was married to William was much beloved in England, and was known to be an attached member of its Church.*

* Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 457.

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Letters of the Princess Mary and the Primate.

She thus writes to Archbishop Sancroft: "Dr. Stanley can assure you that I take more interest in what concerns the Church of England than myself, and that one of the greatest satisfactions I can have is to hear how that all the clergy show themselves as firm to their religion as they have always been to their King, which makes me confident God will preserve his Church, since he hath so well provided it with able men."* To this letter the Primate wrote an answer, but it seems to be doubtful whether the answer was ever sent.† As expressing, however, his feelings during this eventful time, it is well worth attention. "The high and dear esteem you have of the Church and holy religion established amongst us, which you are pleased so emphatically to declare in your gracious letter, and the full assurance which further Dr. Stanley gives me that you hold this pious good affection towards us in common with that great and excellent prince in whose bosom you lie, are such strong and rich consolations which, as we never needed more than now, so could they never come more seasonable and welcome to us. It hath seemed good to the infinite wisdom to exercise this poor Church with trials of all sorts and of all degrees. But the greatest calamity that ever befel us is that it pleased God, in His just and wise providence, to permit wicked and ungodly men, after they had barbarously murdered the father, to drive out the

* *Clarendon Correspondence*, ii., 484.

† See Dr. Stanley's letter.—*Clarendon Correspondence*, ii., 485, note.

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sons from abiding in the inheritance of the Lord, and, as it were, to say to them 'Go, and serve other Gods.' The dismal effects whereof we feel every moment, but must not—yea, we cannot—particularly express. And though all (were it much more) cannot in the least shake or alter our steady loyalty to our sovereign and the royal family in the legal succession of it, yet it embitters the very comforts that are left us; it blasts all our present joys, and makes us sit down with sorrow in dust and ashes. Blessed be God who, in so dark and dismal a night, hath caused some dawn of light to break from the eastern shore, in the constancy and good affection of your royal highness and the excellent prince towards us, for if this should fail us too (which the God of heaven and earth forbid) our hearts must surely break." * This touching letter of the venerable primate shows us that even the most loyal of the clergy were now looking for help towards William. Not that they had any idea of his superseding his father-in-law in the throne. Their high notions of hereditary right forbade this, and the vast sacrifices which so many of them afterwards made showed that these notions were deeply seated and conscientiously held. But they began to hope that the Prince might make a strong intervention in their favour,† overthrow the machinations of the Jesuits, emancipate James from the meshes which his

* *Clarendon Correspondence*, ii., 485.
† Dalrymple, i., v., 3.

own folly had weaved around him, show him his danger, and point out to him the path of safety. These hopes would not, perhaps, have been so wild, had there been one grain of common sense, candour, or equity in the character of the King.

## CHAPTER XXX.

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Want of order in the Church—Sancroft forced to take a decided line—Bishop Ken's sermon—The King determines to humiliate the Church—Order for the clergy to read the Declaration iu churches—The Primate summons the bishops and clergy to deliberate — The meeting at Lambeth on May 18 — The bishops draw up a petition to the King—They present the petition—Refusal of the clergy to read the Declaration—The bishops called before the Privy Council—The bishops sent to the Tower—Birth of a prince—Bishops brought up to plead to the information—Liberated on bail—Their trial—Verdict of acquittal—King still perseveres in his policy—Sancroft's admonitions to the clergy—His plans for comprehension of Nonconformits — Doubtful wisdom of the scheme — The Church at the Rebellion and Revolution periods.

Want of order in the Church.

DURING this anxious period, the Primate at Lambeth was occupied in the ecclesiastical duties of his office, but excluded from Court, and taking no prominent part in political matters. That his mind was full of care for the dangers of the Church, his letter to the Princess Mary sufficiently shows; but Sancroft was a man of a most quiet and peace-loving temper, intent chiefly on furthering the great work of the ministry. In the matter of order and discipline, there was much in the state of the Church

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at this period which needed the most anxious care of the bishops. The traditions of Puritanism still remained in many places. The very prevalence of a strong feeling against Romanism, and an intense fear of its aggressions, doubtless induced many to set themselves in opposition to any external decency of worship. From an anonymous letter in the Tanner collection, written about this time, we learn that in the diocese of Exeter the fasts and festivals of the Church were entirely neglected, the Communion service not read at the table, and the table not so much as covered on a Sunday, that there was no use of the offertory when the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered, nor any weekly services.* The Primate would feel himself in a more congenial work in labouring to redress these abuses than in opposing the King, whose office he still regarded with an almost superstitious reverence, while he saw, as clearly as any one, the grievous danger threatened to the Church by his policy.

Sancroft forced to take a more decided line.

But much as he shunned opposition to the will of his sovereign, Archbishop Sancroft was soon to see that the plainest requirements of duty necessitated him to make a stand, and once fully convinced of his duty, there was no man more resolute to perform it. King James had often said with a sneer, that he would use that royal supremacy for which the Church of England had contended so earnestly to redress the mischief which (in his view) it had worked in banishing the old religion. In the same spirit he may have determined to turn

* *Tanner MSS.*, 29, 71.

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against Archbishop Sancroft his own recommendations in the previous reign, and as it were to slay him with his own weapons. It is well known that the Primate had either recommended or approved the policy of having royal Declarations published by the clergy, in the time of divine service.* This had been done after the Rye House plot, and the dissolution of King Charles II.'s last Parliament. It was thought not incongruous to sanction this in the interests of the Church and the Crown, but it was a practice full of danger and mischief, as the Archbishop was now soon to be fully convinced.

Bishop Ken's sermon.

In Lent of this year, Bishop Ken preached a very remarkable sermon at Whitehall. His reputation as a Christian orator was so high, his character was known to be so pure, and his temper so fearless, that it excites no astonishment to hear of crowds pressing to hear him. The Holy Communion which followed after the morning service, was interrupted by "the rude breaking in of the multitudes zealous to hear the second sermon to be preached by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and the latter part of that holy office could hardly be heard, or the sacred elements be distributed without great trouble." † The sermon was upon the subject of the persecution of the Church of Judah by the Babylonians, and her restoration upon her

* Sancroft (says Calamy) had written in a Prayer Book of Dr. Cosin's, which contained MS. suggestions of alterations, in the place where it is said nothing is to be read but by direction of the Ordinary, the words, "or the King's order."—Calamy's *Autobiography*, i., 198. See Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 466.

† Evelyn's *Diary*, April 1, 1688.

repentance. The application to the dangers which threatened the Church of England was evident, and when, at the end of the discourse, the preacher bid his hearers cling to that reformed faith which they had received, the scarce repressed excitement of his audience was easy to be observed.* The King sent for the bold preacher to reprove him, but Ken was not a man to quail before princes in the execution of a sacred duty. He told the King, "that if his Majesty had not neglected his own duty of being present, his enemies had missed this opportunity of accusing him." † Chap. XXX. 1688.

A similar temper to that which animated Bishop Ken, might now be discerned in many quarters. The Church felt herself on better terms with the Nonconformists, and saw that all the more influential and respectable of them were ready to make common cause with her in the threatened struggle against Popery. She prepared herself for the contest with increased confidence. The King, on the other hand, incapable of reading the signs of the times, and deceived by the fulsome addresses which some of the Dissenters had presented, and by the empty acclamations which had greeted him on his progress, believed himself now able to humble that Church whose confident and stout spirit exasperated his despotic temper. The declaration of toleration had been issued a year. It was sufficiently known and recognised in all parts of the The King determines to humiliate the Church.

* The sermon is printed in Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 99. See also *Life of Ken*, by a Layman, i., 389—402.

† Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 17.

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country. Numerous addresses had acknowledged it, and under it (as one of themselves says), "The Dissenting ministers had free liberty allowed them, and held public assemblies for Divine worship without molestation." * It could not be pretended with any show of justice or truth, that the policy which suggested it was incomplete without a second and more formal publication of it, nor were there any additions or alterations of importance required to be made in it. The step, therefore, upon which the King now decided of republishing his Declaration, and requiring the clergy to read it in their churches in the time of Divine service, was obviously meant for an insult and humiliation of the National Church.† James had been assured by his sycophants, that whatever murmurings might be heard from the clergy on his policy, they would yet assuredly not venture on an act of disobedience to a direct command. At any rate, it was held as certain that the greater part would obey, and thus a handle would be given to the government for turning out the disobedient, "who were likely to be the men that stood most in their way, and crossed their designs most, both with their learning and credit." ‡ It is natural to hate those whom you have deeply injured, and James had requited the devotion of the Church of England by a long series of ill deeds. Hence the chief and

* Calamy's *Autobiography*, i., 138.

† "It was visible that the design in imposing the reading of it on them, was only to make them ridiculous, and to make them contribute to their own ruin."—Burnet, p. 467.

‡ Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 467.

crowning injury in requiring the clergy of a whole Church, in the time of their solemn ministrations, to publish a document which they all knew to be illegal, and designed for the purpose of promoting a religion hostile to the one which they professed, and thus making them at one stroke the betrayers of the liberties and of the faith of their fellow-countrymen.

Order for the clergy to read the Declaration in churches.

On May 4, came forth the memorable order requiring the clergy to read his Majesty's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience in their Churches. It was couched in these terms: "*At the Court at Whitehall, May* 4. It is this day ordered by his Majesty in council, that his Majesty's late gracious declaration bearing date the 27 of April last, be read at the usual time of Divine service on the 20th and 27th of this month, in all churches and chapels within the cities of London and Westminster, and ten miles thereabout; and upon the 3rd and 10th of June next, in all other churches and chapels throughout this kingdom. And it is hereby further ordered that the Right Reverend the Bishops cause the said Declaration to be sent and distributed throughout their several and respective dioceses to be read accordingly." *

The Primate summons the bishops and clergy to deliberate.

Sixteen days were all that remained for the rulers of the Church to consider and debate upon the position in which they were placed, and the dangers which threatened them, and to take the necessary steps for insuring united action among the clergy. They had one great advantage, however, in the fact

* D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, i., 251.

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that the Declaration was not ordered to be read in the country generally till a fortnight after it had been read in London. Evidently, the country would be likely to follow the example set them in the metropolis, and if a bold and uniform course could be secured among the London clergy, the battle might almost be considered as gained. Archbishop Sancroft, in this crisis of the Church, at once showed himself fully equal to the occasion, and took a decided line against the illegal and humiliating act to which it was attempted to compel the clergy. He sent for the most eminent clergy in and about London, and wrote a circular to the bishops earnestly desiring them to come to London with all the speed they could. * On May 12, Lord Clarendon notes in his *Diary*, that he dined at Lambeth with the Bishops of London, Ely, Peterborough, Chester, and St. David's. The two last were known to be false to the cause, and nothing was said about the Declaration while they were present. After their departure a full discussion took place, in which Dr. Tenison also took part, and it was determined to petition the King, having first endeavoured to obtain the presence of all the bishops who were within reach. † On May 17, the Bishops of Bath and Wells and Bristol arrived in London. The Bishop of St. Asaph had come on the previous day. Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich, one of the leading prelates at that time, failed to receive the Primate's summons by a neglect of the postmaster, and Mew,

* D'Oyly's *Sancroft*, i., 255.
† *Clarendon Correspondence*, ii., 171.

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Bishop of Winchester, though struggling manfully towards London, was retarded by an attack of sickness on his journey. On May 18, a meeting of all the bishops who had arrived took place at Lambeth. Their number amounted to seven, besides the Primate, and with them were assembled, also, Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Patrick, Tenison, Sherlock, and Grove, all men of great mark and influence in the Church. *

The meeting at Lambeth on May 18.

The meeting took the character of a solemn conclave, and was prefaced by prayer. After mature deliberation, the assembled divines arrived at the following resolutions:—"That the matter of the Declaration was altogether illegal, the foot upon which it stood being not only a power to dispense in contingent and particular cases, which, if the lawgivers could have foreseen, they would have provided a dispensation for them; but it was to dispense with all sorts of laws in cases contrary to the very design and end of making them. That this was not a dispensing but disannulling power highly prejudicial to the King himself, because it took away that faith and trust which the people repose in him when a law is made, which they look upon as their security. That it was true each bishop or minister was not a capable judge in such cases, but, however, he was a judge for his own private conscience, against which he must not go.

* D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*,, i., 255, sq. *Life of Ken*, by a Layman, i., 404, sq. *Clarendon Correspondence*, ii., 172. The seven consisted of the six who signed the petition and Bishop Compton.

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That if the clergy published it, many would justly judge them either cowards or hypocritical time-servers, in publishing what they thought illegal, and illegally sent to them. That the world would have reason to take this publication as an approval, because there could be no other intention in ordering it to be published, but to make the clergy parties to it; for it was as much known before it was read as it would be after the reading of it; and therefore the making it known was *not the only thing intended.*" * For these and other reasons, the divines assembled agreed that it was expedient not to publish the Declaration. The bishops and deans, who made up the meeting, might, indeed, have easily avoided any personal share in the matter, and, by shrinking from expressing their opinions in a case so perilous, have left the responsibility to the individual ministers who might be called upon to perform Divine service on the following Sunday. But this would have been a course unworthy the prelates of the Church of England. It would have been a base betrayal of their duty, and a sacrifice of the best interests of the Church to a cowardly personal dread. Happily, such a course was not even for a moment contemplated. Not such was the view of duty which would approve itself to the grave piety and temperate wisdom of the Primate; no such shrinking from danger would be contemplated by Ken, burning with apostolic fervour, or Trelawney, full of the dauntless spirit of his ancient race. "They were

* Kennett, iii., 482.

unwilling," says Bishop Kennett, "to lay the clergy under so great a temptation as to save themselves from ruin by a sinful compliance, and chose rather to take the blame and the punishment on themselves in refusing to send the Declaration to their clergy—an heroical act, becoming the character of bishops of the Church of England, who dared to be confessors, as their predecessors had been martyrs, for the Protestant religion."*

The bishops draw up a petition to the King.

Having determined to resist the illegal and degrading command of the King firmly and decidedly, the bishops also desired to do it humbly and respectfully, and for this purpose they agreed to present a petition to his Majesty, which ran as follows:

"To the King's most excellent Majesty.

"The humble petition of William, Archbishop of Canterbury, and divers of the suffragan bishops of that province (now present with him), in behalf of themselves and others of their absent brethren, and of the inferior clergy of their respective dioceses, humbly showeth

"That the great averseness they find in themselves to the distributing and publishing in all their churches your Majesty's late Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, proceeds neither from any want of duty and obedience to your Majesty (our holy mother, the Church of England, being, both in her principles and her constant practice, unquestionably loyal, and having, to her great honour,

* *Complete History*, iii., 482.

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been more than once publicly acknowledged to be so by your gracious Majesty), nor yet from any want of tenderness to Dissenters, in relation to whom we are willing to come to such a temper as shall be thought fit, when the matter shall be considered and settled in Parliament and Convocation. But among many other considerations from this especially, because that Declaration is founded upon such a dispensing power as hath been often declared illegal in Parliament, and particularly in the years 1662 and 1672, and in the beginning of your Majesty's reign; and is a matter of so great moment and consequence to the whole nation, both in Church and State, that your petitioners cannot, in prudence, honour, or conscience, so far make themselves parties to it, as the distribution of it all over the nation and the solemn publication of it once and again, even in God's house, must amount to in common and reasonable construction.

"Your petitioners, therefore, most humbly and earnestly beseech your Majesty that you will be graciously pleased not to insist upon their distributing and reading your Majesty's said Declaration.

"And your petitioners (as in duty bound) shall ever pray, &c.

"W. Cant. (Sancroft.)
"W. Asaph. (Lloyd.)
"Fran. Ely. (Turner.)
"Io. Cicester. (Lake.)

"Tho. Bath and Wells. (Ken.)
"Tho. Petriburgens. (White.)
"Ion. Bristol." (Trelawney.)*

They present the petition.

It was late in the evening of May 18 before this petition was finally determined upon and drawn up. It was necessary that it should be presented to the King without delay. The reading of the Declaration was ordered for the 20th, and there was no time to be lost. The Archbishop was unwilling to obtrude himself upon the King, having been struck off the Privy Council and forbidden to appear at Court since his refusal to act on the ecclesiastical commission. The other six bishops were prepared to go. It was ten o'clock at night when they arrived at Whitehall, and while four of them waited at the House of Lord Dartmouth, the Bishops of Chichester and St. Asaph went to Lord Sunderland to request an interview with the King to present a petition. The King readily admitted them. He expected a petition, but one of a different

* Kennett, iii., 483. The original of the petition, with numerous erasures and alterations in the handwriting of Sancroft, is preserved in the Tanner Collection in the Bodleian. A facsimile has been published by Dr. Cardwell. The Archbishop wrote the copy also in his own hand, so anxious was he to prevent its publication. Within a few hours, however, of its presentation, it was in print. On the Archbishop's draught there are also the following signatures. *Approbo:*

H. London (May 23).
William Norwich (May 23).
Robert Gloucester (May 21).
Seth Sarum (May 26).
P. Winchester.
Tho. Exon (May 29).

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kind. Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, had told him that the bishops intended to make a remonstrance that orders of this kind used to be addressed to their chancellors and not to themselves, and that by this means they hoped to get out of the difficulty.* This would have been a subterfuge, of which the Court party would have made good use. Hence the ready admission of the bishops. They came into the closet and fell upon their knees. The Bishop of St. Asaph handed the petition.† The King looked at it and said, "This is my lord of Canterbury's own hand." The bishops answered, "Yes, sir, it is his own hand." Then he read the document, and, as he did so, evident signs of anger appeared in his looks.‡ As he folded it up, he exclaimed, "I did not expect this. This is a great surprise to me. Here are strange words. This is a standard of rebellion. I did not expect such usage from the Church of England. This is a sounding of Sheba's trumpet, and all the seditious preachings of the Puritans in the year '40 were not of so ill consequence as this." § The bishops, with earnestness, disclaimed the notion of rebellion, and declared they would shed the last drop of their blood for him. Then Ken said, "Sir, I hope you will give that liberty

* Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 467.

† We have the most minute and authentic details of this memorable scene in Archbishop Sancroft's own hand.—*Tanner MSS.*, vol. 28. His account is printed in Appendix to *Clarendon Correspondence*, ii., 478, in D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*.—*Life of Ken*, by a Layman, &c.

‡ Lord Clarendon's *Diary*, ii., 172.

§ *Life of James II.*, ii., 155.

to us which you allow to all mankind." "The reading this declaration is against our conscience," said the Bishop of Peterborough. It was well put, and the King could not answer it. "I will keep this paper," said he, angrily. "It is the strangest address which I ever saw—it tends to rebellion. Do you question my dispensing power? Some of you have printed and preached for it when it was to your purpose." The bishops declared that in their petition they had only referred to the decision of Parliament as to the dispensing power. "I will have my Declaration published," said the King. "We will honour you, but we must fear God," answered Ken and Trelawny. "I will be obeyed," said the King. "God's will be done," answered the bishops. Then telling them, that if he saw fit to alter his mind, he would send for them, the King let the bishops go. They departed quietly as they had come;* but few in the great city, having as yet heard of their visit and its object, and the intense enthusiasm which afterwards waited on them, being not as yet kindled.

Refusal of the clergy to read the Declaration.

In the morning, however, the news spread rapidly through the town. It was quickly known that the bishops had protested against the Declaration, and that it was their wish that the clergy should not read it. Crowds thronged the churches on the following day to witness the result. Would the parochial clergy take their tone from the bishops,

* "They came from the Court in a sort of triumph," says Burnet. This is evidently a mistake, due to the accounts of the excitement which afterwards prevailed.

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and imitate their spirit, or would they show a more timid and yielding temper? In the diocese of London the Declaration was ordered to be read on the 20th, but the bishop, who was under suspension, had not signed the petition,* and of the three prelates entrusted with the care of the diocese, only one had done so. Bishop Compton's sentiments were, however, sufficiently well known, and the London clergy, animated by his spirit, followed the example of the seven prelates with a remarkable and most laudable unanimity. It would have been better, indeed, had Tillotson and Stillingfleet, who had borne a leading part in the opposition, appeared in their churches on the day to take the responsibility of refusing the Declaration on themselves, but though some of the leading men might somewhat shrink, within the city and liberties of London the Declaration was read only in four churches. Evelyn was at Whitehall Chapel, and heard it read "by one of the choir who used to read the chapters." Lord Dartmouth, who was then a scholar at Westminster, heard it read in the Abbey by Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, who was dean. As soon as he began to read, there was such a noise in the church of people leaving their seats, that his voice could scarce be heard. The dean trembled so violently that he could scarcely hold the paper. By the time he had finished, only the choir and the scholars remained in the church.† The clergy had nobly responded

* He signed on Wednesday, May 23.

† Lord Clarendon's *Diary*, ii., 172. Evelyn's *Diary*, May 20, 1688. Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 468, note.

to the call of the bishops, and men breathed freely again, and felt that the liberties of their country were not yet sacrificed. But much yet remained to be done. If the country generally should accept the Declaration, the clergy of the metropolis would be left in a glorious minority, and the value of their protest weakened. The same bishops, therefore, who had drawn up the petition, now bestirred themselves to influence the country clergy to follow the example of those in London. The most dexterous and able pen in England was ready to assist the Church, and Lord Halifax, who had done such good service in his *Letter to a Dissenter*, now drew up a paper suited to the occasion, called *Reasons against Reading the Declaration*. This was despatched in great numbers to all parts of England with the utmost zeal and secresy. The Bishop of Ely writes to the Master of St. John's, Cambridge, dating May 26. "God has blest us with great success, though still we lie under great displeasure, I must expect the effects of it suddenly. God fit us for whatever he shall send; we shall never repent of May 18 enterprise; all our security under God consists in the multitude of clergy equally obnoxious, therefore we send expresses into all parts of the kingdom, with letters of advice and printed papers (of which I sent you a number yesterday by the carrier). The papers do state the case of conscience against reading the Declaration. We need a nimble, trusty man to carry a cloak-bag of these to Derby, where he first is to open his pack; thence on he must go to Pomfret, to Francis

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Drake, with another parcel; to York with another to Dr. Comber; to Newcastle with another to Mr. Tully; lastly, to the Bishop of Carlisle."* The Dean of York has recorded in his *Memoirs* that the parcel reached him at a most seasonable time. The neighbouring clergy were at the moment occupied in deliberating what was to be done in the matter. The London parcel decided them. They all refused to read the Declaration, and sent the papers of *reasons* all over the diocese.† At Norwich, Dean Prideaux received a parcel, and dexterously sent it on to Yarmouth, with orders for it to be re-directed to Norwich from that place. This caused it to be thought that the papers were sent from Holland, and the real agency was not suspected.‡ By these active measures the whole clergy of England were alarmed and warned, and the result was that not more than two hundred in all the country read the obnoxious document. In the diocese of Norwich, containing twelve hundred parishes, it was not read in more than three or four. In the dioceses of Oxford, Lichfield, and Hereford, where the Declarations were distributed, only four or five in each diocese read them. Not one was read in Oxford town or University, but one in the town of Hereford, and there all the people left the church.§ Thus the clergy of the Church of England had distinctly and emphatically refused to take

* Printed in *Life of Ken*, i., 417, from *Harleian MSS.*, 7033.

† *Memoirs of Dean Comber*, p. 362.

‡ *Life of Prideaux*, pp. 39-41.

§ *Memoirs of Dean Comber*, u. s. *Life of Prideaux*, u. s. Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 468.

part in the illegal acts of the King. Most of the men who did this, professed the doctrine of passive obedience. They were ready to suffer any penalties inflicted without resistance, and without murmur, but they would not become active participators in a course which they believed to be opposed to the laws of the land, and dangerous to the faith which they professed.

The bishops called before the Privy Council.

It was now to be seen what steps the King would take with regard to this open disobedience. James was known to be a man of an obstinate temper. He usually acted foolishly, and still more foolishly persisted in abiding by his actions. He was not ordinarily given to hesitate. Yet for a week no sound came from Whitehall. Perhaps he waited for another Sunday to see if there would be any yielding or hesitation on the part of the clergy. But on the second Sunday, the refusal was still more general than on the first. Some who had read it once, declined to read it a second time.* Then at last a decision was taken. On the evening of the 27th, the archbishop received a summons from the Earl of Sunderland as President of the Council, to appear on the 8th of June next, before his Majesty in Council. Similar summonses were sent to the other bishops.†

* Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 468.

† D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, i., 273. The King, in his *Life*, says that the Chancellor advised this step. Lord Jeffries declared to Lord Clarendon that he was strongly opposed to it. Neither of these men had much regard for truth. See Macpherson's *Original Papers*, i., 153. Clarendon's *Diary*, ii., 177. In Clark's *Life of James II.*, it is said, "The King gave in to the Chancellor's advice, who thought his having reprimanded them (the bishops) not sufficient; he told him their way of petitioning was tumultuary, and by consequence liable to a legal prosecution."—ii., 158.

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In the meantime, the bishops, acting under the advice of Lord Clarendon and other friends of the Church, took counsel with the ablest lawyers, as to the way in which they should demean themselves before the Council.* They were advised by no means to enter into recognizances for their further appearance, as that would be derogatory to their privileges as peers of Parliament,† but to stand upon their guard, and avoid committing themselves to any acknowledgment of their petition, on the ground of not being obliged to criminate themselves.

Thus prepared, the bishops appeared at the Council Board about five o'clock on Friday, June 8. They appeared as criminals, but their own consciences did not accuse them of crime, and they knew that they had the whole nation with them. From the Hague had come a letter, assuring them that the Prince and Princess of Orange highly approved of their conduct, and "reckoned themselves particularly obliged by their steady maintaining the Church,"‡ and "it was visible," says Burnet, "that the King had not only the seven petitioning bishops to deal with, but the body of the whole nation, both clergy and laity." §

* Lord Clarendon's *Diary*, ii., 173-4-5.

† This is recommended in papers to be found among the *Tanner MSS.* (28, 46, 60) and is a complete answer to the strange assertion to be found in the *Life of King James*, that the Archbishop forced the King to commit him to the Tower, that he might not be able to be present at the Queen's accouchement, and thus might afterwards question the legitimacy of the child.

‡ *Tanner MSS.*, 28, 31.

§ Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 468.

When the bishops arrived in the Council Chamber, the Lord Chancellor took up a paper lying on the table, and showing it to the archbishop, asked him if it was the petition which was written and signed by him, and which the bishops had presented to the King.* The archbishop apologizing for his caution in a matter which was against himself, declined to answer. The King was angry at this, and called it chicanery. The archbishop offered to answer, if his Majesty laid his command upon him. The bishops were then desired to withdraw. After a quarter of an hour they were readmitted, and the same question put, the King adding, "I command you to answer this question." Then the archbishop took the petition, and having read it over, acknowledged that he wrote and signed it. The other bishops also admitted their signatures. They were then questioned as to the matter of the petition, what they meant by declaring the dispensing power illegal, and what want of prudence or honour there would be in obeying the King. All the questions put to them they dexterously parried, for the purpose of them was obvious. It would be almost impossible, apparently, to show that a petition presented to the King by those who by their position were his legal counsellors, could amount to a libel. But if the bishops had owned and defended these doctrines before the Council, it might be alleged that they

* We have the account of these proceedings drawn up in the Archbishop's own hand, in the *Tanner MSS.*, 28, 49, printed in Appendix to *Clarendon Correspondence*, and *Life of Sancroft*.

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had publicly set them forth. Thus the baffled Council again ordered them to withdraw. On their third admission they were told by the Chancellor that they were to be proceeded against in Westminster Hall, and were bid to enter into recognizances to appear and answer the charge. This they stoutly refused to do. The King said he offered it to them as a favour. The Bishop of St. Asaph replied he did not consider it a favour. The Lord Chancellor advised them to accept the offer. The bishops continued firm in their refusal, and were again commanded to withdraw. A fourth time they were called in, and the same advice was pressed on them, but to no purpose. They told the King they were acting under the direction of the best counsel in town, and they would not yield. They were now dismissed for the fourth time, and Lord Berkeley, one of the Privy Counsellors, was sent to them to try the effect of private persuasion. Still the bishops remained unchanged. It was evident that the Council were extremely afraid of of the step which they were now obliged to take, and dreaded, not without good reason, the strength of popular sympathy, which would be awakened by the committal of the bishops. They must, however, now commit them, or release them. Accordingly, in half an hour's time appeared the Sergeant-at-Arms, bearing a warrant signed by fourteen hands, for the committal of the seven bishops to the Tower. At the same time an order of Council was made, directing the Attorney and Solicitor-General to prosecute the bishops.* It was

* D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, i., 284.

determined not to convey them through the streets for fear of a tumult, but to carry them by water.

The bishops sent to the Tower.

The passage of Hume, which describes in vigorous language the intense enthusiasm with which the people greeted these confessors in the cause of religion and liberty as they were conveyed along the river, has been often quoted. But Hume has been far outdone by the greater brilliancy and more artistic touch of an historian of our own day. It is useless to quote what every one remembers, or to attempt to describe where nothing is left to describe. Suffice it to say, in the words of Burnet, that "the whole city was in the highest fermentation that was ever known in the memory of man. All along as the bishops passed, the banks of the river were full of people, who kneeled down and asked their blessing, and with loud shouts expressed their good wishes for them, and their concern in their preservation. The soldiers and officers of the Tower did the same."* "When the bishops arrived at the Tower," says Sir J. Dalrymple, "it was the hour of evening service. The bell tolled, the clergyman was entering the chapel, and the people flocking into it. They embraced the omen, and repaired instantly to church to return their thanks to that God in whose cause they believed they were suffering."† The lesson for the evening

* Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 469. "Infinite crowds on their knees begging their blessing, and praying for them," says Evelyn, *Diary*, June 8.

† Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, i., iv., 97. Sir J. Reresby mentions having seen the bishops on their way, and says they looked very cheerful.—Reresby's *Memoirs*, p. 346 (3rd ed.).

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service was that chapter in the Epistle to the Corinthians wherein the great apostle of the Gentiles exhorts the ministers of God to approve themselves worthy of their holy office "in much patience, in afflictions, in distresses." The bishops could not fail to be encouraged by the inspired words.

The next day their prison was attended like a royal court. "Multitudes of people thronged to see them."* Lord Clarendon, the King's brother-in-law, paid them several visits; Lord Halifax came to offer his advice; John Evelyn was there to see these fathers of a Church which he so greatly loved, and, among others, ten Nonconforming ministers came to offer the sympathy of the more true-hearted of the dissenters to these staunch opponents of Romish encroachments.†

Birth of a Prince.

On Trinity Sunday, the whole of the bishops in the Tower partook together of the Holy Communion, and while they were engaged in this solemn service, an event occurred of great importance in the history of the nation. A son was born to King James. Every one is familiar with the stories told with a grave minuteness, by Burnet and others, to throw doubt upon the birth of this child, but every one now is content to disbelieve them. The birth, however, happening at such a time, and the strange stories which were immediately afloat, greatly increased the popular enthusiasm for the bishops. It

* Lord Clarendon's *Diary*, ii., 175.

† Sir J. Reresby's *Memoirs*, p. 347. Evelyn's *Diary*. Lord Clarendon's *Diary*.

was said that the King had taken this subtle method of getting the Archbishop of Canterbury out of the way, that he might not be present at the accouchement (according to custom), and confound the plans of the Jesuits. To Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, was confided the task of drawing up a form of thanksgiving for the prince's birth. *

Bishops brought up to plead to the information.

On June 15, being the first day of Term, the bishops were brought from the Tower to Westminster Hall by writ of *habeas corpus*. The same enthusiastic crowds lined the banks of the river and the streets through which they passed, thronged every avenue of Westminster Hall, and, on bended knees, craved the bishops' blessing. "The archbishop," says Sir John Reresby, "freely gave it, and as freely, at the same time, exhorted them to be constant to their religion." † The counsel for the accused having urged several technical objections, which were overruled, the bishops were required to plead. The crime with which they were charged was the having "consulted and conspired amongst one another to diminish the royal authority, prerogative, and power, and to infringe and elude an order in Council; for having, *vi et armis*, &c., at Westminster, unlawfully, maliciously, seditiously, and scandalously fabricated, composed, and written, under the pretence of a petition, a certain false, feigned, pernicious, and scandalous

* *Life of Sancroft*, i., 288, note.

† Reresby's *Memoirs*, p. 347. *Life of James II.*, ii., 164. This is called by the Stuart compiler, "a little artifice to render the King's intentions suspected."

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libel; and the same, subscribed with their own hands in the presence of the Lord the King, published, and caused to be published, in manifest contempt of our said Lord the King, and the laws of this kingdom, to the evil example of all other delinquents in a similar case, and against the peace of the said Lord the King." * The counsel for the bishops endeavoured to gain further time, but the Chief Justice decided that they must plead at once, and they all pleaded, accordingly, *not guilty*. Then the Attorney-General gave notice that the trial would come on in a fortnight, and the accused were admitted to bail on their own recognizance, the "twenty-one of the very prime of the nobility," who were ready to bail them, not being required.†

Liberated on bail.

As the bishops left the court they were received and greeted with the loudest acclamations, and the progress of each of them towards his home became a triumph. "I found," says Lord Clarendon, "the Bishop of St. Asaph in the midst of the crowd, the people thinking it a blessing to kiss any of these bishops' hands or garments. I took him into my coach, and carried him home to my house, but was fain to turn up through Tothill Street, and so to go round the Park to avoid the throng the other way in the streets." ‡ The infatuated King could not read aright the open signs of danger to his authority in this intense enthusiasm which

* *Life of Sancroft*, i., 290.

† Reresby's *Memoirs*, p. 347. See *Life of Ken*, by a Layman, ii., 432, note.

‡ *Clarendon Correspondence*, ii., 177.

waited upon the bishops. It was no ordinary circumstance for a London mob to prostrate themselves with the deepest reverence before the Fathers of the Church, and to crave their blessing; but James could see nothing in it but a little factious insolence, easy to be repressed by the strong hand of power. The Chancellor, indeed, was somewhat wiser. This man, of brazen front and ribald tongue, was a coward at heart. He had advised the King to commit the bishops; but now that he saw something of the strength of the popular feeling, he came whining to Lord Clarendon, "talking with great trouble upon the bishops' affair. He seemed very apprehensive that their being brought to a public trial would be of very ill consequence to the King in all his affairs; but he said it would be found that he had done the part of an honest man. (!) 'As for the judges,' said he, 'they are most of them rogues.'"* It was, however, now too late. The trial had been fixed, the preparations made, and all England was hanging with eager suspense upon the issue. At the last moment an attempt was made through Lord Dartmouth upon the Bishop of Ely. Dr. Turner had been noted for preaching courtly sermons on the King's prerogative; † his after conduct sufficiently showed how sacred he esteemed his hereditary rights. But the bishop was an honest man. Pressed to appeal in humble fashion to the King, and to give him a decent pretext for quashing the prosecution, he refused. The danger to the cause for which the

* *Clarendon Correspondence*, ii., 179. † Evelyn's *Diary*.

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prelates were contending was imminent, but the bishop was "very steady," and would not desert his brethren.* The deep anxiety with which all friends of the Church regarded the pending trial, is attested by numerous letters containing suggestions and cautions addressed to the Primate, and preserved among his papers. The whole people of England were, in fact, looking on, and were bent upon having the issue fairly tried.

Their trial.

On Friday, June 29, the bishops appeared in court attented by thirty-five peers and numerous other friends. Bishop Compton and Dr. Tenison had been especially active in procuring this large attendance of distinguished persons, judging, with good reason, that it would not be without its influence both upon judges and jury.† Upon the jury indeed everything depended, as the judges had already declared in favour of the dispensing power; and if Lord Jeffries' opinion as to their roguery were true, they were likely to go all lengths in favour of the Court. The counsel for the bishops used the right of challenge, and objected to the names of some who might be supposed to be unduly biassed; it was known that the King himself and the Chancellor had been busy in instructing the Crown solicitor with regard to the striking of the jury,‡ and extra vigilance was thus rendered necessary. At length, twelve men of respectable position were returned, with Sir Roger Langley as

* *Clarendon Correspondence*, ii., 179.
† Kennett, iii., 485.
‡ *Life of Ken*, by a Layman, ii., 434-6.

their foreman, and the case proceeded. The attorney-general opened the pleadings by telling the jury that the bishops were prosecuted for injuring and affronting his Majesty to his very face, and censuring him and his government. No man, he said, was allowed to tell even an inferior magistrate that he was unjust or unreasonable, much less might any one say this of the King. His Majesty had been graciously pleased to issue a Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, and had ordered it to be read in churches that all the people might hear what he had promised by his sacred word. All the return he received for his kindness was hard words and a heavy accusation. He had resented this usage so far as to order a public vindication of his honour by this trial.

The evidence for the prosecution consisted only of the proof of the signature of the bishops and of the publication of the petition. The former was proved, after some difficulty, by the evidence of a clerk of the council, who swore that the bishops had acknowledged their signatures there; the latter could not be proved, because no publication had taken place, and the trial was upon the point of breaking down on this point, when the prosecution thought of sending for Lord Sunderland, who was able to prove that the bishops had applied to him to be admitted to the King to present a petition, and this was considered sufficient proof of the publication.

The counsel for the defence had a grand opportunity before them. An audience composed of the

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highest in the land was assembled, an issue involving the most vital interests was at stake, the whole nation was listening at the doors of the court, and every judicious argument, every bold flight of eloquence would be certain to awaken the warmest animation and applause. Animated by the occasion, and desirous to lend a helping hand to the great struggle for liberty now proceeding, the counsel for the prisoners boldly took the ground of the utter illegality of the dispensing power, which the King claimed. "I could never yet hear or learn," said Mr. Finch, "that the constitution of this government of England was otherwise than thus that the whole legislative power is in the King, Lords, and Commons—the King and his two Houses of Parliament. But then, if this Declaration be founded upon a part of the legislature, which must be by all men acknowledged not to reside in the King alone, but in the King, Lords, and Commons, it cannot be a legal and true power of prerogative." "Such a dispensing power," said Serjeant Pemberton, "strikes at the very foundation of all the rights, liberties, and properties of the King's subjects. If the King may suspend the laws of the land which concern our religion, I am sure there is no other law that he may not suspend; and if the King may suspend all the laws of the kingdom, in what a condition are all the subjects for their lives, liberties, and properties." "My lords," said Mr. Somers, "as to the matters of fact alleged in this petition, that they are perfectly true we have shown by the journals of both Houses.

There could be no design to diminish the prerogative, for the King hath no such prerogative. *Seditious*, my lords, it could not be, for it was presented to the King in private and alone. *False* it could not be, because the matter of it was true. There could be nothing of *malice*, for the occasion was not sought, the thing was pressed upon them; and a *libel* it could not be, because the intent was innocent, and they kept within the bounds set by the Act of Parliament, that gives the subject leave to apply to his prince by petition when he is aggrieved."

The King's counsel made as good a reply as they could to this vigorous defence, and then the judges proceeded to sum up and deliver their opinions. Chief Justice Wright gave it as his opinion that the petition amounted to a libel. Justice Allybone agreed with him.* Justice Holloway pronounced it to be no libel, and Justice Powel declared pointedly that it did not partake of the character of a libel in any one of its features, that the King possessed no dispensing power, and that his Declaration, founded on such pretended power, was illegal.† The judges being thus equally

* "The chief justice doubted as to the proof of the publishing, but took the petition to be a libel. Justice Allybone believed throughout, and doubted nothing."—Mr. Price to the Duke of Beaufort. Macpherson's *Original Papers*, i., 267.

† "This cost Sir Richard Holloway and Sir John Powel their seats on the bench as soon as the term was over."—Sir J. Reresby's *Memoirs*, p. 348. Yet the compiler of the *Life of James II.* has the assurance to write, "The King gave no marks of his displeasure to the two judges, Powel and Holloway, who

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divided, the suspense and excitement of the audience became more intense, and all waited with the most painful anxiety for the decision of the jury.

The verdict of acquittal.

Through the long hours of that tedious night the jury remained locked up, unable to agree on their verdict, or unwilling to declare too soon and too lightly, that they were all agreed.* They were watched with jealous care by the bishops' lawyers, who reported early in the morning that they were heard "very loud one among another," about midnight, and about three in the morning,† but at length, about six o'clock, it was known that they were agreed, and had sent to the Chief Justice to receive their verdict.‡ At ten o'clock the judges assembled, the bishops were brought into court, and a crowd, which thronged every corner, waited with the stillness of death for the verdict of the jury. The foreman pronounced the words *not guilty*. "As the words passed his lips," says Lord Macaulay, "Halifax sprang up and waved his hat. At that signal benches and galleries raised a shout. In a moment ten thousand persons who crowded the great hall, replied with a still louder shout, which made the old oaken roof crack; and in another moment the innumerable throng without

arraigned so publicly his dispensing power."—Clarke's *Life of James II.*, ii., 163.

* Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, i., iv., 98.

† See Mr. Ince's letter in the *Tanner MSS.*, 28, 83, printed in D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, i., 306.

‡ Mr. Price says, "The jury staid till *nine* this morning. Arnold, a brewer, till then dissenting."—Macpherson, u. s.

set up a third huzza, which was heard at Temple Bar. The boats which covered the Thames gave an answering cheer. A peal of gunpowder was heard on the water, and another, and another; and so in a few moments the glad tidings went past the Savoy and the Friars, to London Bridge, and to the forest of masts below. As the news spread, streets and squares, market-places and coffee-houses broke forth into acclamations. Meanwhile, from the outskirts of the multitude, horsemen were spurring off to bear along all the great roads intelligence of the victory of our Church and nation." The King was in his camp at Hounslow among the soldiers, "from whom he expected his chief security;" but even the soldiers caught the prevailing enthusiasm, and startled his Majesty in the midst of his dinner with so hearty a cheer, that "he now began to see a little through the veil which those people who were leading him to the precipice still held before his eyes." *

The joy of the people at the acquittal of the bishops, did not soon evaporate. Bonfires and illuminations lighted all the country for many nights. The portraits of the bishops were eagerly sought after, and carefully cherished,† and never in all its history did the Church of England stand so high in the affections of the nation. Congratulations poured in from all quarters. The most significant which reached the Primate, were those from William of Orange, and from the Presbyterians of Scotland.‡

* *Life of James II.*, ii., 165.
† *Life of Ken*, by a Layman, ii., 443.
‡ *Life of Sancroft*, i., 311—313.

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King still perseveres in his policy.

Yet the King, though somewhat startled and shaken, was too obstinate to change his policy. In spite of the unmistakable expression of the national will, he went feebly onwards in the same course. The Ecclesiastical Commission was ordered to procure returns of the names of those clergy who had not read the Declaration. Their requirements were treated with contempt, and no returns were made. Finding themselves powerless to censure a whole Church, the Commissioners made an attempt to save their dignity by entering a fresh order in their books,* but before the time fixed arrived, the commission was dissolved, given up by its originator a tardy sacrifice to the righteous indignation of an outraged people.

On the day of the acquittal of the bishops, was dated the famous invitation of "the seven," calling upon the Prince of Orange to come over and help us. One of the signatures was that of Henry Compton, Bishop of London.

Sancroft's admonitions to the clergy.

But before we enter on the troubled waters of the Revolution period, and the difficulties and trials which assailed the Church of England therein, it is pleasing to contemplate as among the last acts of Archbishop Sancroft's Primacy, a provision for the active and diligent performance of ministerial duties in the Church, together with an admonition to all the clergy, to be bold and earnest in their opposition to the errors of Popery. A paper with the following heading was issued by him to all the bishops of his province: "Some heads of things

* *Life of Sancroft*, i., 318.

to be more fully insisted by the bishops in their addresses to the clergy and people of their respective dioceses." (1.) That the clergy often read over the Ordination service, and consider seriously the vows which they have taken. (2.) That in compliance with these, they be exact in the performance of their duty, and strict in all holy conversation. (3.) That they be resident in their parishes, and keep sober hospitality there. (4.) That they catechize the youth of their parishes, and prepare them for confirmation, and often press upon their people the importance of their baptismal vows. (5.) That they perform daily service in populous places, and especially observe the holy days and fasting days appointed by the Rubric.*

* We may trace in this, and in several of these provisions, a reference to the state of things described in the anonymous letter to Sancroft, from the diocese of Exeter, mentioned before. We can scarcely wonder at this diocese being in bad order. Its bishop (Lamplugh) was a time-server and a mean-spirited man. He was for enforcing the reading the King's Declaration, though he had himself signed *approbo* to the bishops' petition. The following letter from the noble-spirited Sir Jonathan Trelawney, Bishop of Bristol, to the Primate, shows him in a very unfavourable light:—

"August, 1688.

"May it please your Grace — Mr. Gilbert, the bearer, going for London, and being desirous of paying his duty to your Grace, I gave him this opportunity as well to receive your blessing, as to present you with the present state of the West. He is the laborious minister of Plymouth, who by his courage, life, and doctrine, hath done a great deal of good in that town; I wish his lord, the Bishop of Exeter, had as fixed and steady resolutions, but his lordship acting according to a settled maxim of his own, *I will be safe*, had given order for publishing the Declarations, notwithstanding the Bishop of Bath and Wells and my letters to him, and was at last brought to recall them, by the dean's sending him word, that if he would betray the Church, he should not the cathedral, for he would

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(6.) That they use their utmost endeavour to bring their people to the Holy Communion, and administer it once in every month. (7.) That four times a year at least, they warn their people against usurped foreign jurisdiction, and recommend "obedience to his Majesty in all things lawful, and patient submission in the rest." (8.) That they maintain fair correspondence with the gentry and persons of quality in the neighbourhood. (9.) That they often warn their people against Popish emissaries, and desire them to do honour to their Church by holy living. (10.) That they be very watchful over them in sickness, and on the near approach of death, both to prepare them for their change, and to prevent Popish teachers getting access to them. (11.) "That they also walk in wisdom towards those who are not of our communion; and if there be in their parishes any such, that they neglect not frequently to confer with them in the spirit of meekness, seeking by all good ways and means to gain and win them over to our communion; more especially that they have a very tender regard to our brethren, the Protestant Dissenters; that upon occasion offered, they visit them at their houses, and receive them kindly at their own, and treat them fairly wherever they meet them, discoursing calmly and civilly with them; persuading them (if it may be) to a full compliance with our Church, or

rather be hanged at the doors of it, than the Declaration should be read there, or in any part of his jurisdiction, which is large in the county"..... *Tanner MSS.* 28, 158, printed in Ken's *Life*.

at least that "whereto we have already attained, we may all walk by the same rule and mind the same thing." And in order hereunto that they take all opportunities of assuring and convincing them that the bishops of this Church are really and sincerely irreconcilable enemies to the errors, superstitions, idolatries, and tyrannies of the Church of Rome, and that the very unkind jealousies which some have had of us to the contrary were altogether groundless. And, in the last place, that they warmly and most affectionately exhort them to join with us in daily fervent prayer to the God of Peace for the universal blessed union of all reformed churches, both at home and abroad, against our common enemies; that all they who do confess the holy name of our dear Lord, and do agree in the truth of his holy word, may also meet in one holy communion, and live in perfect unity and godly love." *

His plans for comprehension of Nonconformists.

These earnest and holy words, so well befitting a Christian bishop, are peculiarly notable at this time. The Church and the Protestant Dissenters were being drawn together by a common danger. Animosities were being forgotten, differences of opinion losing their importance, in face of the attacks of the Jesuit and the despot upon the religion and liberties of the country. The Archbishop, devoted churchman though he was, earnestly desired, if possible, to win the more sober-minded of the Nonconformists to the fold of the Church. For this purpose he undertook, in common with

* *Life of Sancroft*, i., 325.

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some leading divines, among the number of whom were Patrick, Sharp, Wake, and Moore, to draw up a scheme "to improve, and, if possible, to amend our discipline; to review and enlarge our liturgy, by correcting some things, by adding others; and, if it should be thought advisable by authority, when this matter should be legally considered, first in Convocation, then in Parliament, by omitting some few ceremonies which are allowed to be indifferent in their nature, also indifferent in their usage, so as not to make them of necessity binding on those who had conscientious scruples respecting them, till they should be able to overcome either their weaknesses or their prejudices respecting them, and be willing to comply."* This work had, it appears, been some little time in progress, and was probably alluded to in that passage of the bishops' petition which intimated their readiness to be conciliatory towards Dissenters. It is said that no alteration was intended but in things declared to be alterable by the Church itself, and that the doctrine, government, and worship of the Church were to remain entire in all the substantial parts of them.†

Doubtful wisdom of the scheme.

The scheme was, without doubt, a compromise made under the most favourable circumstances, with the greatest caution, by men thoroughly imbued with Church spirit, of calm and judicial temper. Yet even such a compromise as this

* Bishop Wake's speech on Sacheverell's trial, quoted in *Life of Sancroft*, i., 328.

† *Life of Sancroft*, i., 329.

would, in all probability, have failed of its object. Churchmen would have considered some important point lightly sacrificed, Dissenters would have murmured at grudging and qualified concessions, and the strife would have kindled afresh. We must reverence the charity of the Primate as much as we admire his intrepidity, but the very imperfect information which we have about this scheme of comprehension, scarce adds to our opinion of his far-seeing wisdom.

The next events in the history of our Church are intimately connected with that great Revolution — the most wonderful recorded in history — in which, without bloodshed, anarchy, or confusion, by the steady and bold assertion of the national will, the country passed from being the plaything of a despot into self-respect, vigour, and life—the precursors of its glorious future!

The Church at the Rebellion and Revolution periods.

At the beginning of the period contained in this volume, the Church was intensely hated; at its close it is ardently loved. It was hated because it lent itself to uphold civil tyranny; it was loved because it stood forward to oppose it. Sancroft was as strong a Churchman as Laud, but the one cherished the law, the other tampered with it. A favouring King allowed the one to invade the rights of citizens with an unhappy disciplinarianism; a hostile government obliged the other to throw himself upon the laws, the sympathies, and the affections of the nation.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

Chap. XXXI. Church affairs in Scotland—Resolutioners and Protesters—Resolutioners send Mr. Sharp to London—The accusations of treachery against him—Disappointment of Scotch Presbyterians—Errors on all sides—The contest not simply theological—Due to hatred of State-control in religion—Mr. Guthry's supplication—Convicted of high treason—The King's letter—Meeting of the parliament—The oath of supremacy—Subscription to acknowledge the King's prerogative—Patronage restored—Guthry executed—Preparations for restoring Episcopacy—Mr. Sharp sent for to London—English bishops desire the promotion of the old Episcopal clergy—Mr. Sharp opposes this—Views of the Scotch on the matter of Episcopacy—King's letter declaring Episcopacy restored—The new bishops—Question of reordination—Bishops arrive in Edinburgh—Act declaratory of the bishops' power—Act requiring presentation and induction—Ministers deprived in the diocese of Glasgow—Ritual agreed upon at Edinburgh—The character of the opposition to the Church—The Government policy towards the dissentients—Conventicles take the character of armed resistance—Lauderdale's severity—Indomitable spirit of the Covenanters—Government obliged to repress them—Extreme sycophancy of the Scotch Parliament—The Assertory Act—The indulgences distasteful—Injury to the Church by this policy—Leighton's plans of comprehension—Rejected by the Presbyterians—Alternate persecution and indulgence—Character of Lauderdale—Of Archbishop Sharp—Desire for a national synod—Murder of the Archbishop—The Cameronians—Duke of York at Edinburgh—Independent spirit among Episcopal clergy—Scotch Church in an unsatisfactory state at death of Charles II.—Conduct of the Scotch at the accession of James—Opposition to abolishing penal laws against Romanists—Change of the royal policy—Declaration of Indulgence—How received in Scotland—The second Declaration—Effect of the King's arbitrary policy on the Church.

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Church affairs in Scotland.

WE return to the consideration of Church affairs in Scotland after a long interval, the Episcopal Church having been in a state of complete abeyance from the time of the Glasgow Assembly of 1638. Of the bishops who at that period presided over it, the majority died in exile. Bishop Maxwell was translated to the Irish See of Killaloe, and, in 1645, made Archbishop of Tuam; but soon after his elevation he died, while in the very act of prayer in his closet.* Three of the bishops abjured their episcopal character, and accepted parochial charges as Presbyterian ministers. That they should have been intrusted with them may seem somewhat strange, as *all* the bishops indifferently had been accused before the Glasgow Assembly of the most hideous crimes.† The only Scotch bishop who survived to the Restoration was Sydserf, Bishop of Galloway, who appears to have been a man of small consideration, and made himself obnoxious to the English prelates by his promiscuous ordinations in England.‡ Of the Scotch clergy who were faithful to Episcopacy, many appear to have migrated to Ireland,§ and all had to bear a full share of the troubles which overtook their English brethren.

Meantime, the Presbyterian ministers, who had

* Russell's *History of the Church of Scotland*, ii., 192.
† Russell's *Note*, ii., 191.
‡ Burnet's *Own Time*.
§ Mant's *Church History of Ireland*, i., 541.

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Resolutioners and Protesters.

hoped everything from the English Parliament, and the Assembly of Divines, were destined to see their hopes of the establishment of their system in England frustrated, and to witness, with horror and amazement, the rise of the power of the sectaries. In the agonies of their struggles to bring in Charles II. as a Presbyterian King, and to contend against the military power of Cromwell, the commission of the General Assembly came to a resolution to allow the *malignant*, or Cavalier party, to join with the Presbyterian army, and make common cause against Cromwell. This resolution was deeply resented by the fanatical Presbyterians, who considered it an unhallowed and godless union, and attributed to it the wretched ill success which attended the Scotch invasion of England. From this beginning a bitter strife arose between the Low and High Presbyterians, under the names of Resolutioners and Protesters, or Remonstrants—a strife which enters deeply into all the subsequent religious history of the country.

The Resolutioners send Mr. Sharp to London.

When General Monk, after long commanding in Scotland, where he had favoured the moderate party, took his march into England, and all men saw that the fate of the nation was in his hands, a small party of Resolutionist ministers in Edinburgh despatched James Sharp, minister of Crail, a friend of General Monk's, to watch over their interests in London, and to endeavour in any settlement of government to procure the allowance of free action to their Church judicatories. He was also to

oppose toleration, and to endeavour to benefit the minister's stipends.*

The accusation of treachery against him.

Against this divine, afterwards the ill-fated Archbishop of St. Andrew's, a greater chorus of reproach and abuse has been raised by the Presbyterians than has fallen to the lot of most men. He may have, in great measure, deserved this by his sanctioning, in after years, measures of great harshness and cruelty against the Covenanters, but it does not appear that the charges of the blackest treachery, made against him at this time, can be substantiated.† Upon a careful study of the numerous letters which passed between him and Mr. Douglas in Edinburgh, the most eminent of the ministers who had given him his commission, it seems hard to avoid perceiving that Mr. Sharp, from the first, warned his friends that the Presbyterian cause was lost in England, and that the attempt to advocate it was "most disgustful" to Court and people.‡ He also *hinted*, in numerous

* See Mr. Sharp's Instructions. Wodrow, i., 5. (Ed. Burns.)

† "It is true he was a Presbyterian when there was no better religion in the country, and an agent to the moderate party of that persuasion, to whom he was faithful while he was employed and trusted by them; but it does not follow from thence, that a man may not change his opinions about Church-government. But he betrayed nobody, for in the year 1660, long before Episcopacy was resettled in Scotland, he had quitted his agency, resigned his trust, and had no more to do with them. So that he was free, when the legislature thought fit to change the government of the Church, to accept a bishopric, which trust he discharged with honour and fidelity," &c.—Higgons's *Remarks on Burnet*, p. 77.

‡ Wodrow, i., 30.

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letters, that a moderate Episcopacy was likely to be tried in Scotland, though he certainly ever continued to express himself as attached to Presbyterianism.* That he was obliged, by this, to continue a fixed and unwavering opponent of Episcopacy, any more than the numerous other ministers who changed their sentiments and received preferment, is not so clear.†

Disappointment of the Scotch Presbyterians.

But we can easily understand what caused the direful animosity against Mr. Sharp. The Presbyterian ministers in Edinburgh were for a long time under the delusion that on the King's return Presbyterianism would be established *in England*, and they urged Mr. Sharp to press this point, as well as to remind the King of the sin and scandal of using the Book of Common Prayer.‡ He was also directed to denounce the English clergy, and to strive to prejudice the King's mind against his faithful and orthodox subjects. "You may inform his Majesty of what stamp divers of the later Episcopal divines are, who not only run that length in acknowledging Episcopacy as to acknowledge the patriarchate of Rome in the Western Church, but in point of doctrine have established many strange tenets, contrary to the doctrine of the reformed churches, and of the Church of England, and orthodox bishops in former times. The settling of the interest and way of men of such principles,

* The substance of all the letters is given by Wodrow, but the writer of Archbishop Sharp's life complains, not without reason, of some unfairness.—See Stephen's *Life of Sharp*, pp. 56, 59, &c.

† See Pearson's *Life of Leighton*, p. 15.

‡ Wodrow, i., 26, 35, 36.

would give sober and orthodox men cause to fear the overturning of all religion. You may also inform what errors, Arminianism, Popery, &c., were hatched under Episcopacy in the latter times thereof." * The hallucinations, however, of the Scotch divines were soon dispelled. Not only did they find themselves in no situation to arrange matters for England, but their own establishment was quickly seen to be threatened, and the order of bishops, which had been so violently driven away in 1638, likely to be brought back. Under these circumstances, it was not wonderful that they should accuse their agents of treachery and their friends of ingratitude, and that so unexpected and bitter a reverse should exasperate them beyond measure.

Errors on all sides.

Without attempting to defend many of the proceedings connected with the re-establishment of the Episcopal system in Scotland, it is obvious to remark that the Presbyterians were the last persons who had the right to complain of want of toleration and of persecution. They had savagely persecuted the Episcopal clergy when their power allowed them,† and they hated and opposed toleration as a most unbearable grievance.‡ In this troublous and un-

* Wodrow, i., 24.

† See Russell's *History of Church of Scotland*, chap. xiii.

‡ Sharp was commissioned to oppose toleration. Douglas writes, "The King need not declare any liberty for tender consciences here." Again, "No such concession is necessary to Scotland, as he hath given in his declaration as to England." Yet the same divine writes, "The generality of this new upstart

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grateful chapter of history, there were, unhappily, mistakes, inconsistencies, and errors on every side.

The contest not simply theological.

In estimating the extraordinary vigour and tenacity with which some of the Scotch, at this period, opposed Episcopacy, we must not be led into the mistake of regarding it as simply a theological contest. As such, it would be utterly inexplicable, for the bishop, who was such an object of abhorrence and dread, was not, like the English prelate, surrounded with a goodly state and ceremonial, presiding over services of a decorous ritual, and administering the affairs of his diocese by his own absolute will and power. The Episcopal Church, which was restored in Scotland, differed scarce in any point from the Presbyterian. They both used the Confession of Faith of 1567; in neither was there any liturgy or service book; the Sacraments were administered in both without kneeling or the sign of the Cross. The Episcopal Church had its Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, and Diocesan Synods for administering discipline; it used neither surplice, altar, nor chancels; and no bells, recalling the days of Popery, summoned the faithful to worship.

generation have no love for Presbyterial government, but are wearied of that yoke, feeding themselves with the fancy of Episcopacy or moderate Episcopacy." (Wodrow, i., 21, 22, 26.) With regard to the "Protesters," or more rigid Presbyterians, they were still more strongly set against toleration. In Mr. Guthry's *Supplication*, he speaks of the "hatefulness of the late usurping powers in promoting a vast toleration in things religious," &c.—Wodrow, i., 69.

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Due to hatred of State-control in religion.

Whence then arose the intense antagonism to this bare and jejune institution? Assuredly not from a mere devotion to the doctrine of parity of ministers, but from the feeling so deeply impressed upon the national mind at that period, that the Kirk was privileged to be free of State-control, to make her own laws, and appoint her own ministers. It was the outraging this national sentiment by the English-made canons and liturgy which led to the outbreak of 1637; it was the stern control exercised by Cromwell in religious matters, which produced the bitter hatred with which he was regarded in Scotland; and it was the determination of Charles II. to manage Church matters with a high hand, by virtue of his prerogative, which excited the nation against him. The King had attempted this policy in England, but had been firmly met and checked by the House of Commons, in which it had been argued that "the King is not more absolute in ecclesiastical affairs than temporal."* In Scotland, he was less scrupulous and more unopposed. But to receive nominees of the Crown, as placed in spiritual authority over them, was altogether distasteful to the free and stubborn spirit of the Scotch, and was in their view a truckling to a base Erastianism, and allowing the civil magistrate an undue part in spiritual things.† In order to make himself absolute dictator in religious matters, it was necessary for the King to

* *Parliamentary Hist.*, iv., 517.

† See Dr. Burns' *Preliminary Dissertations to Wodrow*, pp. 14, 15.

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introduce bishops,* who, being created by him, should look to him and his interests, and being raised above their fellows, and armed with power over them, should repress excesses by discipline, in which the jealousy with which they would be regarded, would make them more than ordinarily severe. The love of liberty was thus powerfully enlisted against the Episcopal Church, and hence we may understand how it was that when everything was offered to be conceded (as by Leighton and Burnet) the mere name of a bishop was sufficient to make the Presbyterians hold aloof in a stubborn refusal of compromise.

Mr. Guthry's *Supplication.*

In August, 1660, the Earl of Glencairn was sent down to Edinburgh to act for the King, with orders to call together the Committee of Estates.† Immediately Mr. Guthry, a leading minister among the Protesters, called a meeting of his brethren, and they agreed to a *Supplication* to the King, a document conceived in the true spirit of unalloyed Presbyterianism. The ministers remind the King roundly of his having taken the Covenant, and claim his devotion for "the pure and spotless rule of Church government, &c., delivered to us in the Word of God," and they "earnestly entreat that any beginnings of stumbling which have been already given in these things, especially in the matter of prelacy and the service-book in your Majesty's

* See Sir G. Mackenzie's *Vindication*, &c., p. 6.

† "This was a practice begun in the late times: when the Parliament made a recess, they appointed some of every state to sit, and to act as a council of state in their name till the next session."—Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 77.

chapel and family, and in other places of your dominions may be removed and taken away, and that there may be no further proceedings in these things which grieve the Spirit of God, and give offence to your Majesty's good subjects," &c.* Mr. Guthry had in former days grossly insulted the King when he was at Stirling, and treated him in so rude a manner, that even the easy nature of Charles had not forgotten the affront.† He had also written a book called *The Causes of God's Wrath*, which affected after the manner of religionists of his school, to account for all the troubles of the Scotch in their wars with Cromwell, by supposing them to be judgments for sins in the managements of public affairs, and their treaties with the King.‡

Convicted of high treason.

Against him, therefore, it was determined to proceed on the charge of high treason. His trial is said to have been managed with fairness, but the counts of the indictment could scarcely be thought to amount to high treason, and the energy with which he defended himself, and the constancy with which he suffered, raised the fanatic into the dignity of a martyr. That which gave energy to Guthry, was his profound conviction that the Kirk was above all human law. It was no question of Episcopacy or ceremonial. The same spirit which had of old inspired Hildebrand and Innocent, animated him and those who, like him, contended against

* Wodrow, i., 69, 70. † Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 77.
‡ Stephen's *Life of Sharp*, p. 118.

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what they thought the encroachments of the civil power and State-control.

The King's letter.

On September 3, 1660, the King's letter, intended to conciliate and soothe the Presbyterians, was brought down to Edinburgh by Mr. Sharp, and delivered to the ministers. It was afterwards thought that this letter was designedly made ambiguous, and that it had in it the same treachery imputed to Sharp; but Burnet tells us that it was due to a temporary ascendency of the influence of Lord Lauderdale, who really desired the upholding of Presbyterianism, over that of Lord Middleton, who was bent upon its humiliation. It is true that Burnet also accuses Sharp of treachery in the matter, but the violence with which he ever follows up this much-maligned man must make us slow to accept his surmises and insinuations.* The King's letter declared that he was well satisfied with the carriage of *the generality* of the ministers of Scotland in the time of trial, and that he intended to discountenance profanity, and all contemners and opposers

* Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 75 (ed. 1838). It is pretty generally known that Bishop Burnet, though a vivid and graphic writer, giving much valuable information, is *not* a trustworthy historian. We will only adduce one instance out of numberless charges which have been brought against him. In describing some transactions connected with Lord Antrim at the Restoration, Burnet says, "I saw a great deal of that management, for I was then at Court."—*Own Time*, p. 25. "If," says Mr. Higgons, "we may believe the date of his birth on his monument in Clerkenwell Church, Dr. Gilbert Burnet was born in September, 1643, so that he was between sixteen and seventeen years old at the Restoration in 1660, at which time he affirms that he was at Court, and saw a great deal of the management of affairs."—Higgons's *Remarks on Bishop Burnet*, p. 49.

of the ordinances of the Gospel. "We do also," it continues, "resolve to protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland *as it is settled by law*, without violation; and to countenance in the due exercise of their functions all such ministers who shall behave themselves dutifully and peaceably as becomes men of their calling. We will also take care that the authority and acts of the General Assembly at St. Andrews and Dundee, 1651, be owned, and stand in force until we shall call another General Assembly.....And as we are very well satisfied with your resolution not to meddle beyond your sphere, so we do expect that Church judicatories in Scotland, and ministers there, will keep within the compass of their station, meddling only with matters ecclesiastic, and promoting our authority and interest with our subjects against all opposers."* This letter was received with great joy by the Presbyteries, as it was thought to be a full promise of upholding them in all their power. There was, however, surely enough in it to warn them, that no great amount of license would be conceded to them, neither is there any distinct pledge to uphold any particular form of Church government, but only such "as is settled by law."† It is probable, indeed, that no

* Wodrow, i., 80, 81.

† The author of the *Life of Archbishop Sharp*, makes a strange mistake when he supposes that the Episcopal form was intended to be alluded to here, as being still established by the law of the land. The Acts of the Parliament of 1641, which abolished Episcopacy, enacted the Covenant, &c., were as yet until the passing of the Rescissory Act, perfectly legal, having been ratified by the King in person.—See Burnet's *Memoirs of the Hamiltons*, b. iii.

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distinct line of policy had yet been resolved upon, and that the temper of the Parliament now about to meet, would be first ascertained.

Meeting of Parliament.

On the first day of 1661 the Parliament was opened with great solemnity and pomp, but it was observed as boding ill for the Presbyterians that no reference was made to the Solemn League and Covenant.

Oath of supremacy.

Indeed, an oath of very different import was soon enacted. Members of Parliament, ministers, and others, were called upon to swear that they acknowledged the King "as supreme governor of this kingdom, over all persons, and in all causes; and that no foreign prince, power, or state, nor person civil or ecclesiastic, hath any jurisdiction, power, or superiority over the same."* The latter clause presented no difficulty, but the expression, "over all persons and in all causes," struck with dismay those who were zealous for the independence of the Kirk. It was, indeed, declared by the Government officers that they "intended not to give his Majesty any ecclesiastical, but only a civil supreme power;" yet, when the ministers offered to take the oath with this expressed reservation, they were not allowed to do so. It was soon clearly perceived that the supremacy of the King, which they were called upon to accept, was not intended to be a merely restrictive power necessary for curbing any excesses in ecclesiastical persons, but an active administrative power, as that of a "civil

* Wodrow, i., 92.

Pope" claiming to remodel and control the whole of their religious system. Chap. XXXI.

The Parliament proceeded eagerly and zealously in the work of magnifying the King's prerogative, and, in addition to the oath of supremacy, required also an acknowledgment of the prerogative by a subscription to be made by all persons employed in any public trust. In the paper to be subscribed, the regal office appeared to be designedly magnified to most portentous dimensions, so as indeed to leave no place for much of either civil or ecclesiastical liberty. To complete the dismay of the Presbyterians, another Act was passed, which declared, in language scarcely ambiguous, the King's intention to establish Episcopacy. "As to the government of the Church, his Majesty will make it his care to settle and secure the same in such a frame as shall be most agreeable to the Word of God, most suitable to monarchical government, and most complying with the public peace and quiet of the kingdom."* Subscription to acknowledge the King's prerogative.

Another Act followed, restoring patronages and the rights of presentation which had been taken away in 1649, when the call of a congregation and approval of the Presbytery were ordained to give legal possession of a living.† The various Presbyterian synods did not fail to protest strongly against the apparent policy of the Parliament. They could not see their Covenant annulled,and all the legisl a-tion of the time of the troubles swept away, without making an effort in its favour. But the synods Patronage restored.

* Wodrow, i., 102. † *Ib.*, i., 104-5.

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were at once dissolved by the Government wherever their tone was strong and loud, and a watchful surveillance was kept up over the most independent of the ministers.*

Guthry executed.

On June 1 was executed James Guthry, one of those impracticable but heroical men whom it is dangerous for a Government to tolerate, but still more dangerous to molest. To punish a man with death mainly for religious opinions, even though those opinions had a strong anarchical and revolutionary element in them, can never be defensible; but his punishment, according to Burnet, struck terror into the hearts of the ministers, and "whereas the pulpits had, to the great scandal of religion, been places where the preachers had for many years vented their spleen and arraigned all proceedings, they became now more decent, and there was a silence everywhere with relation to the affairs of State."†

Preparations for restoring Episcopacy.

During this lull great changes were preparing for the Kirk. At the rising of Parliament, the chief members of the Scotch Government went to London, and many deep and earnest consultations were there held with the King, Lord Clarendon, and some of the English bishops, as to what was to be done in Church matters in Scotland. Lord Middleton, the King's Commissioner in Scotland, was the bearer of a petition from the Scottish Parliament, which "highly aggravated the wickedness of the former times in destroying Episcopacy, without which they could not have brought their wicked

* Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 79. † *Ib.*, p. 77.

designs to pass; and therefore they were humble suitors to his Majesty that he would make choice of such grave divines as he thought fit to be consecrated bishops for all the vacant sees. *

Mr. Sharp sent for to London.

All the counsellors were in favour of restoring Episcopacy except Lord Lauderdale, but, to obtain further information as to the state of feeling among the Scotch clergy, Sharp and Douglas were summoned from Scotland. The latter pleaded old age and weakness, and did not go. Sharp alone went to London, and, it may be presumed, gave such satisfactory assurances as to the temper of the country, that it was determined to proceed to the consecration of bishops without more delay.

English bishops desire the promotion of the old Episcopal clergy.

Mr. Sharp opposes this.

The English bishops were anxious that the bishops appointed should be men who had constantly adhered to the Episcopal Church. They much disliked the notion of making Presbyterians bishops. Sharp, however, whose own interest was at stake, pressed strongly the opposite view. He declared that such men as the English bishops desired knew nothing of the country, from which they had for the most part been long banished, but that Presbyterian bishops would be more moderate, and more popular. His views prevailed, and he was sent down to Scotland with the promise of the Archbishopric of St. Andrew's for himself, and with a charge to select men for the other sees. †

It is extremely difficult to ascertain the real temper of the country with regard to this change

* Clarendon's *Life*, p. 1111 (ed. Oxf., 1843).

† Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 89.

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Views of the Scotch on the matter of Episcopacy.

in Church government, but even Presbyterian writers seem to admit that the notion of a moderate Episcopacy was, to some extent, popular.* Church writers, indeed, go much further. "The Earl of Crawford alone," says Clarendon, "retained his rigid affection for Presbytery, when the ministers themselves grew much less rigid, and were even ashamed of the many follies and madnesses they had committed." † It may, probably, be true to say that the Resolutioner party were not opposed generally to Episcopacy, while the Protesters were generally against it. Yet even if the majority of the nation were ready to accept bishops, undoubtedly the real *strength* of Scotch opinion was against them. The devoted Presbyterian thought their office unscriptural, and his own platform to be *jure divino*. Stronger, perhaps, than even this was the consideration, as put by Wodrow, that "the first article of the bishops' creed was non-resistance, and their constant doctrine that kings could do no wrong. They were the best tools that could be for arbitrary government; the King was still sure of the bishops' votes in Parliament in all ordinary cases, and it was well known they would quickly plant the Church with a set of ministers who would instil principles of unbounded loyalty into their people, till they were first made slaves and then beggars." ‡ Thus the love of

* See Mr. Douglas's letter quoted above. Burnet, p. 87. Stephen's *Life of Sharp*, p. 185.

† *Life*, p. 1110.

‡ Wodrow, i., 224.

civil, as well as religious, liberty influenced a large party in the country to set themselves in opposition to the restoration of bishops.

King's letter declaring Episcopacy restored.

Sharp brought down with him a letter from the King to the Chancellor, in which Charles alluded to his former letter of August, 1660, which had promised to maintain the Church government established by law, and to the Act Rescissory of the last Parliament, which had nullified all legislation since 1638, and necessitated some new arrangement. "In contemplation of the inconvenience from the Church government, as it hath been exercised these twenty-three years last past, of the unsuitableness thereof to our monarchichal estate, of the sadly experienced confusions which have been caused by the late troubles, by the violences done to our royal prerogative, and to the government, civil and ecclesiastical, settled by unquestionable authority; we, from our respect to the glory of God, and the good and interest of the Protestant religion, from our pious care for the order, unity, peace, and stability of that Church, and its better harmony with the government of the churches of England and Ireland, have, after mature deliberation, declared to those of our council here, our firm resolution to interpose our royal authority for restoring that Church to its right government by bishops, as it was by law before the late troubles, during the reigns of our royal father and grandfather of blessed memory, and as it now stands settled by law."* This letter was immediately enforced by an act of

* Wodrow, i., 230.

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the Scottish Council, and by a proclamation made with great ceremony at the market-cross of Edinburgh.*

The new bishops.

The way having been thus smoothed for the bishops, it only remained to select the persons and to procure them consecration. Sharp selected Messrs. Fairfoul, Hamilton, and Leighton to go to London for consecration with himself. Of these Burnet gives a disparaging character of the former two, while on Leighton he expends his utmost power of writing to draw a character of spotless purity, and a union of all the highest graces of religion and learning. His description represents Leighton as somewhat of a Christian stoic, a man who was never angry and never smiled, of a speculative and philosophical turn in religious matters, and who disliked the Presbyterians for their narrow-minded bigotry.†

Question of reordination.

Of the four bishops-elect two had received their orders from episcopal hands, but Sharp and Leighton had been ordained in the Presbyterian manner, and the English bishops now insisted on their reordination. This Sharp strongly opposed, but Leighton regarded it with a philosophical indifference, and at length both agreed to the requirement. The four bishops were then ordained in great state in Westminster Abbey, and after some little stay in England proceeded to Scotland together.‡

* Wodrow, i., 231.

† Burnet's *Own Time*, pp. 89-92.

‡ Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 93. *Clarendon's Life*, p. 1111. Wodrow, i., 239. Pearson's *Life of Leighton*.

Bishops arrive in Edinburgh.

The Archbishop of St. Andrew's and his brethren were received on their arrival with great ceremony, and ushered into Edinburgh with trumpets sounding before them;* and as soon as the Royal Commissioner arrived, they proceeded to consecrate, according to the English ordinal, the remainder of the bishops in the chapel of Holyrood House. The day after the consecration, they were reinstated in Parliament in due form, and then feasted in great pomp by the Earl of Middleton.†

Act Declaratory of the bishops' power.

The Presbyterian historian complains that the bishops were brought in without even an apparent sanction of the Church, no attempt being made to give them any other title than the King's Prerogative. It was doubtless, however, held that no new title was required. This was merely a return to the state of things in 1638, when bishops legally existed in the Church—the Act Rescissory having annulled all intermediate legislation. To set forth, however, more clearly the power of the bishops, an act was passed in the second session of the Parliament which declared that "his Majesty, by and with the consent of his estates of Parliament, doth hereby redintegrate the state of bishops to their ancient places and undoubted privileges in Par-

* "I looked on, and though I was thoroughly episcopal, yet I thought there was something in the pomp of that entry that did not look like the humility that became their function."—Burnet. This is a specimen of the ill-natured canting tone in which Burnet always writes of the Scotch bishops. Leighton, disliking the notion of a grand entry, had separated from the party.

† Wodrow, i., 255.

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liament, and to all their other accustomed dignities, privileges, and jurisdictions; and doth hereby restore them to the exercise of their episcopal functions, presidence in the Church, power of ordination, inflicting of censures and all other acts of Church discipline, which they are to perform with advice and assistance of such of the clergy as they shall find to be of known loyalty and prudence." * The same act restored the revenues of the sees from the beginning of the year 1661, and regulated other matters connected with the episcopal office. It now remained to be seen how the Church and the country would accept their new governors.

Act requiring presentation and induction.

In Scotland there was no Act of Uniformity as in England to apply at once a crucial test to distinguish between Presbyterian and Episcopalian, but the same end was compassed by other means. The chief of these were the Acts which enforced the attendance of all ministers at the visitations of the bishops; that which required all incumbents who had entered since 1649 to obtain presentation from the patron, and institution from the bishop; and that which enacted that they should subscribe a declaration that they held the Solemn League or Covenant illegal. Under one or other of these it was clear that all the strong Presbyterians must soon incur penalties, which usually amounted to deprivation and banishment. The Act requiring presentation and collation by the bishop, was the first to make a considerable number of victims. It is very observable, that though presentation by a

* Wodrow, i., 257.

patron was held to be so great an evil by the strict Presbyterians, yet it had not been abolished for eleven years after they had the power completely in their own hands. Its restoration now, however, was considered an intolerable grievance, and, in the diocese of Glasgow, the stronghold of the Remonstrants, there was almost an universal refusal to apply for it. The Archbishop of Glasgow, who appears to have been an injudicious man, applied to the Privy Council to pass an ordinance of greater severity. At his request they issued a proclamation banishing all those who had not submitted to the Act, and, immediately, about two hundred parish ministers left their cures.* A large number, also, incurred the penalty of deprivation, by refusing to appear at the bishop's visitation.

Ministers deprived in the diocese of Glasgow.

The clergy who were expelled were a grave and serious body of men; strict disciplinarians, but made acceptable to their people by their independent spirit, and their way of preaching against the sins and errors of those in authority, "which," says Burnet, "is a topic which naturally makes men popular." They were open, indeed, to the charge of narrow-mindedness, harshness, and bigotry, but, in spite of this, their people could ill tolerate their removal and replacement by men of more accommodating views, and often of less gravity and piety.†

Ritual agreed upon at Edinburgh.

The diocesan meetings or visitations of the bishops were, in several parts of the country, badly

* Wodrow, i., 283. Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 101.

† Burnet's *Own Time*, pp. 102-3.

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attended. At Edinburgh, indeed, fifty-eight clergy assembled, and agreed to some moderate requirements in the matter of ritual. The occasional use of the Lord's Prayer, the Doxology, and the Apostles' Creed was enacted, but, with these exceptions, each minister was left free to conduct the service as he pleased.*

The character of the opposition to the Church.

Assuredly, the opposition made to bishops in Scotland must be referred to some other cause than the antipathy to Popish ceremony, &c., so freely alleged in England; and can be rightly explained on no other ground than the stern love of independence which Kirk ministers had cherished in themselves at the same time that they anathematized it in their flocks. Episcopacy, indeed, takes a prominent place in their complaints, but they equally protested against the oath of supremacy and the ordaining of May 29 to be kept as a holiday, and the Assertory and Test Acts, which unduly magnified the royal prerogative, were their most crying grievances.† It is almost unnecessary to remark that the depriving of those ministers who did not accede to the terms of the Parliament and Council was no harsher measure, while it had more of legality to defend it, than the wholesale outrages of the Presbyterians in 1638. The governing body in Scotland had a clear right, as in England, to enforce conformity to the terms legally settled, as a condition of holding preferment in the

* Wodrow, i., 281.

† See *Declaration of the Rebels at Ruglan* (Rutherglen), London, 1679.

Church; and had it been contented with this, and refrained from persecuting the Nonconformist ministers, no just blame could have been attributed to it.

The Government policy towards the Dissentients.

By the various measures taken to establish Episcopacy, about three hundred and fifty ministers altogether appear to have been deprived,* a far smaller number, all circumstances being taken into consideration, than were ejected in England on St. Bartholomew's Day. Of those, many thought it their duty to continue their ministrations, which were eagerly attended by the more stedfast members of their flocks, and the Government had now to decide how they should treat these unauthorized assemblages. Unfortunately, they came to the resolution of treating them with the greatest severity. Laws, which involved the forfeiture of one-fourth of the estate, which prescribed imprisonment, whipping, and finally *death*,† for attendance at conventicles, disgraced the Statute Book of Scotland. A Court of High Commission was formed to enforce the numerous savage and persecuting edicts of the Parliament and Privy Council, and both in the legislation and enforcing of the laws, the bishops took a full and even prominent part. ‡

In spite of all that was done to repress them, the conventicles increased. From being merely reli-

* Wodrow, i., 324.

† Russell's *History of the Church of Scotland*, ii., 293.

‡ This policy is well described by the latest historian of the Church of Scotland as "a systematic attempt to torture the country into a compliance with Episcopacy."—Cunningham's *Church History of Scotland*, ii., 196.

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Conventicles take the character of armed resistance.

gious assemblies, they quickly became gatherings of somewhat a martial and rebellious character. It was better to meet on the hills and repress violence by menace, than to suffer themselves to be the victims of informers and the prey of constables by meeting in towns.* With arms in their hands, and stern defiance on their brows, the undaunted western "Whigs" sought some upland valley or bare mountain side, determined to purchase, at all hazards, the privilege of listening to their favourite preacher. Scattered and ridden down by the King's Dragoons, they fled through bogs and over rocks to some still securer spot, or else brought to bay and obliged to fight for their lives, they showed a hardihood and a courage which often confounded their assailants.

Lauderdale's severity.

Lord Lauderdale who had succeeded Middleton as Royal Commissioner, was determined to go all lengths in the policy of repression. He brought down the savage bands of Highlanders and quartered them on the disaffected districts. He obliged all persons of consideration in the country to enter into solemn bonds, that neither they themselves, nor those belonging to them, would encourage Conventicles. He sent his agents into every part to watch and report, to test, fine and imprison, but all to no purpose. The indomitable spirit of the Covenanters could not be subdued. Nothing could drive them to commit the detested sin of Erastianism; to recognize the "King's creatures" as their spiritual governors, or to pray and communicate

* Sir G. Mackenzie's *Vindication*, &c., p. 6.

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Indomitable spirit of the Covenanters.

with a "King's curate." Twice their resistance broke out into considerable insurrections, and formed armies to oppose the royal troops, but the defeats of Rullion Green and Bothwell Bridge, taught them the hopelessness of the attempt. The strength of their cause lay in undaunted and unflinching suffering, in which they showed a wonderful constancy. It is said that sixteen persons suffered death at one time, rather than consent to say "God save the King." Men and women who could suffer thus were invincible. But the details of the sad woes of the Covenanters belong more to the secular than to the ecclesiastical historian, since though their resistance to authority was based upon religion, it, in fact, assumed the character of a distinct rebellion. In no civilized country are armed bands allowed to assemble in open defiance of the laws with impunity. That there were negotiations between the Scotch Covenanters and the Dutch, when at war with England, is beyond doubt, and the later attempts of Cameron and Cargill were openly and confessedly war to the knife against the King and his throne. Thus the history of the period becomes the account of a series of attempts often ill-judged and often cruel, to put down a stubborn rebellion, in which (as in almost all rebellions) civil and religious motives were mixed together.* The Episcopal Church of Scotland is certainly not chargeable with the cruelties of Turner, Dalziel, and Claverhouse, and it is vain to attempt to direct

Government obliged to repress them.

* See *A True Narrative of the Proceedings of His Majesty's Privy Council*, &c.

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a stab against the ancient order of the Church, because some of its members at this period were scycophantic, cowardly and cruel.

Extreme sycophancy of the Scotch Parliament.

Had the Scotch Parliament been endowed with one grain of patriotic spirit, or even approached in independence the most tame of English Houses of Commons, a great part of these miseries might have been prevented. But the wild extravagances which were scouted in England, were welcomed with grateful acquiescence in Edinburgh, and the King's prerogative strained and exalted above all law, seemed to be the very god of their idolatrous worship.

The Assertory Act.

The climax was reached by what was called the Assertory Act, passed in 1669, which affirmed that "the ordering and disposal of the external government and policy of the Church doth properly belong to his Majesty and his successors, as an inherent right of the Crown; and that his Majesty and his successors may settle, enact and emit such constitutions, acts and orders concerning the administration of the external government of the Church, and the persons employed in the same, and concerning all ecclesiastical meetings and matters to be proposed therein, as they in their royal wisdom shall think fit." We know the real secret of the policy which found expression in this startling document. Charles desired to be absolute in religious matters, that he might first tolerate and finally establish Popery.

The Indulgences distasteful.

But the most persecuted preachers of the hills were unwilling to purchase relief at such a cost as

this, and the various indulgences which were from time to time offered by virtue of the royal dispensing power were accepted only by a few. Those who were benefitted by them were reproached, not without justice, by their brethren, of having subscribed to the purest Erastianism, and their old hearers called them "King's curates," and "dumb dogs." *

Injury to the Church by this policy.

On the other hand, the Episcopal Church was vexed and galled by this stretch of royal prerogative, and by the formal assertion that the King's caprice was to be the only source of ecclesiastical power in the land. "Many of the best of the episcopal clergy," says Burnet, "were highly offended at the act (Assertory). They thought it plainly made the King our pope." † The Indulgence of 1667 had especially affected the western dioceses, and as it was plainly against the laws which settled the terms of conformity, the Synod of the Glasgow clergy violently remonstrated against it.‡ The answer to their remonstrance was the Assertory Act, and the forced resignation of Archbishop Burnet. Even the most obsequious of the bishops

* Wodrow, ii., 135, &c. Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 190.

† Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 186.

‡ It should be observed, that these Indulgences offered at various times to the Scotch dissentient clergy, and accepted by some of them, were not acts of *comprehension, i.e.*, of extending terms of conformity so as to include them, nor of *toleration, i.e.*, of allowing them to teach as *Dissenters*, without conforming. The Indulgences allowed them to occupy the livings as the parish ministers, with certain drawbacks, and instituted them simply by authority of the King. This was evidently completely subversive of Church discipline.

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had seen that everything distinctive of a Church was imperilled by this act, and had spoken against it while they voted for it; but those who had thus far assisted the King's policy, were soon made more nearly aware of the great danger they had incurred.

Leighton's plans of comprehension.

In the place of Archbishop Burnet, the amiable Leighton, Bishop of Dunblane, was charged with the administration of the Archbishopric of Glasgow, and now with the assistance of Gilbert Burnet the historian, Divinity Professor in the University, he proceeded to draw up a scheme of accommodation, which surrendered everything which could be valuable to a Churchman in favour of Presbyterians, who even thus could not be appeased and conciliated. This plan gave to bishops merely the place without the ordinary power of President of Presbyteries; it adopted the Presbyterian method of ordination, and, in fact, accepted their platform only with the useless incumbrance of a nominal bishop.*

Rejected by the Presbyterians.

Yet even this comprehension was distasteful to the men who in the days of their sorest adversity never bated a jot of their highest pretensions. The good bishop tried his utmost to bend their stubborn spirits. They remained, however, inflexible, for they saw clearly enough, that in the very power which enabled Leighton to make these offers, there lurked a real danger if they should accept them, even when most favourable to themselves. The same overriding dispensing prerogative of royalty which

* Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 192. Russell's *History of the Church of Scotland*, ii., 289. Pearson's *Life of Leighton*, p. 45.

offered to supersede all the laws, so that they would submit and be *accommodated*, might in another mood re-enact the provisions now dispensed with, or introduce severer ones, while the ministers who had once yielded to its illegal pretensions, would be prejudiced in resisting them for the future. Hence the accommodation scheme of Leighton and Burnet failed, and the persecuting laws were tried again, both policies being alike hostile to the real interests of the Church.

Alternate persecution and indulgence.

It was now that the ruthless law was enacted which decreed *death* against a preacher in a field conventicle,* but even this did not intimidate men who had counted the cost and thought their duty required the sacrifice. After a period of persecution another Indulgence was offered (1672). The conditions annexed to this were much the same as before. Ministers were not to leave their parishes without permission, and were to confine their ministrations strictly to the inhabitants of the parish. About eighty ministers accepted the terms, but these were soon discontented, and the really influential spirits still held aloof. Lauderdale continued his violent measures against the recusants, and in the unhealthy and embittered state of a chronic persecution, directed by the State nominally for its support, the Episcopal Church was kept back from obtaining a hold on the country.

Bitterly, indeed, was the price of that capricious royal favour exacted from it. The coarse

* *Narrative of Proceedings of Privy Council*, p. 7.

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Character of Lauderdale.

and passionate voluptuary who represented the King in Scotland, if he had any religion, was certainly not a lover of Episcopacy. Having begun life as a strict Presbyterian, and even represented the Scotch Assembly in the Westminster Assembly of Divines, Lauderdale was now employed in savagely oppressing the same men and opinions which he had formerly favoured. A man without faith, without conscience, without even an ordinary regard for decency, a licentious and perjured wretch who could send men to the gallows with a brutal jest—what could the advocacy of such an one do for the Church save cover it with opprobrium and contempt?

Of Archbishop Sharp.

Neither was the Primate a man of so high a character as to make up for the shortcomings of others. Without lending ourselves to the senseless invectives of the Presbyterians against Sharp for treachery, which in others was accounted nothing more than a change of opinions, we cannot help seeing in him somewhat of a mean and vindictive spirit, a want of definite purpose and policy, a readiness to truckle, and a desire to avoid responsibilities. Sharp was opposed to the audacious assumptions of the Assertory Act, and yet he could make a mean use of the King's irresponsible power to inflict censure upon the Bishops of Brechin and Dunblane, and Messrs. Turner, Cant, Robertson, and Hamilton, whose only crime seems to have been that they desired a national synod for considering the disorders in the Church.*

* Stephen's *Life of Sharp*, p. 468, sq.

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Desire for a national synod.

There was, indeed, a very general desire at this time for a national convocation of the clergy,* and, assuredly, we cannot wonder at it. Every earnest and unbiassed man in the country must have felt that the position of the Church was unsatisfactory in an eminent degree. There was the power of Episcopacy to irritate the Presbyterian, without those goodly adjuncts of an Episcopal Church, a decorous ritual, an edifying Liturgy, and a Catholic confession of faith. There was the mere caprice of Erastian interference in all sacred things, without the voice of the Church being in any way heard. That the Primate should have so violently opposed this natural desire, and written whiningly to Sheldon that all they wanted was to get rid of him, speaks but little for his character as a churchman.† Sharp was a man of petty views and aims, and when, at length, he fell, foully murdered by the fanatical Covenanters of the west, though men stood aghast at the greatness of the crime, and the insulted law exacted a terrible vengeance, yet in his death the Church suffered no loss, and the historian cannot assign him a place among the great prelates of the age. The primacy was conferred upon Archbishop Burnet, who had previously been restored to the See of Glasgow. The good Leighton,

Murder of the Archbishop.

* "They are all crying for a national convocation of the clergy."—Sharp's letter to Sheldon, *Wodrow MSS.*

† "If I be not supported by his Majesty's special favour, by your grace's recommendation, I shall inevitably suffer shipwreck .....One Mr. Cant, a presbyter, has shaken off all fear of God and regard for his canonical oath, in calling me a great grievance to the Church."—Sharp to Sheldon.

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wearied out with the hopeless task of attempting to compose inevitable differences, had retired into private life, where he lived in all saintly strictness for the rest of his days.

The Cameronians.

For some time after Sharp's death the nation was convulsed by the rebellion which followed it and its suppression, and the terrible punishments inflicted on the misguided peasantry. "There had grown up among the persecuted Presbyterians," says Mr. Cunningham, "a class of men who were sterner, more uncompromising, more fanatical than their brethren. They utterly reprobated the Indulgence; they refused to pay cess; they threw off their allegiance to a king who had violated his Covenant engagements."* These were the men who had fought at Bothwell Bridge, and whom, after they had been defeated there, it was attempted to coerce and intimidate by sanguinary persecutions.

Duke of York at Edinburgh.

In the midst of these scenes the Duke of York, against whom the English Parliament was so violently excited, came to Scotland and procured, without any difficulty, from the obsequious Parliament at Edinburgh, an act confirming his succession. This was followed by other acts in which the Church was nearly interested. The Assertory Act had gone as far as most men thought possible, but now it was determined to raise the prerogative even higher, and to attempt to bind all men to support these preposterous claims by a solemn oath. The Act of Succession "was so penned,"

* Cunningham's *Church History of Scotland*, ii., 223.

says Burnet, "that the King was made master of the whole justice and property of the kingdom." * By the Test Act, which immediately followed, all who were allowed to hold office were to pledge themselves to hold the Protestant religion, to condemn all resistance of any sort to the King's authority, to renounce the Covenant, to oblige themselves to defend all the King's rights and prerogatives; never to meet to treat of any matter, civil or ecclesiastical but by the King's permission, and never to attempt the alteration of the Government either in Church or State.†

Independent spirit among Episcopal clergy.

To this more than Oriental despotism, some of the Episcopal clergy, happily for their credit, refused to subscribe. They might have been ready, like their English brethren, to accept the doctrine of passive obedience, but to swear to help forward and support these pretensions, was something more. "They were highly offended at the great extent of the prerogative in point of supremacy, by which the King turned bishops out at pleasure by a letter. It was hard enough to bear this, but it seemed intolerable to oblige men by oath to maintain it. The King might by a proclamation even put down Episcopacy itself as the law then stood, and by this oath they would be bound to maintain that."‡ About eighty therefore of the most learned and pious of the clergy preferred resigning their preferments to thus stultifying themselves, and lending a helping hand to tyranny,

* *Own Time*, p. 339. † Burnet, p. 340.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 341.

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and it is little to the credit of the bishops that no Episcopal name is found among the number.

Scotch Church in an unsatisfactory state at death of Charles II.

The reign of Charles closes, still leaving the Church in Scotland in an unsatisfactory state. There was a dearth of great men in the country. No leading spirit had appeared to advocate and recommend that which was good, and pure, and noble. The bishops were men of an ordinary stamp; no great writers or great preachers appeared among them. Leighton is almost the only one upon whose character we can dwell with pleasure, but he was not of a cast to control or influence his brother men. His was the piety of the cloister, not of the more useful, if perhaps rougher quality which leaves a mark upon the age. Having the sympathies of the country, and of many of their clergy against them, the bishops leant too much on the arm of power, and courted mischievously the tyrannical voluptuaries who represented the Crown. They were mixed up in many of the persecuting acts of the Privy Council, so that the indifference with which they were at first regarded, gradually ripened into a rooted aversion. In addition, they were the representatives of a complete Erastianism, and contentedly acquiesced in, and even advocated a system which ostentatiously gave over all Church power to the capricious will of the King. To such a system, and to those who upheld it, a thoughtful and religious people could not easily be reconciled.

When James II. succeeded to the throne, neither of the sections of the religious world of Scotland

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had reason to expect any great benefits from his rule. He had sanctioned measures of extreme and revolting cruelty against the more violent Presbyterians, the more moderate even he was known to hate and despise. He had humiliated and degraded the Episcopal Church, so that now, in the words of an English bishop, "Episcopacy itself was made but a sort of civil office, and held, as it were, by commission, during the pleasure of the King or his council."* Yet when Argyle made his unlucky expedition, and hoisted the banner of the Covenant, declaring that his mission was to extirpate Popery and Prelacy,† but few Presbyterians joined him. Yet the Churchmen who sat in the Parliament, summoned at the King's accession, took part in the base display of abject and fawning servility then exhibited, declaring over and over again, that the King's power was absolute, and without limits, branding the Presbyterians with the most opprobrious terms, and passing two laws, one of which made it death to attend a field conventicle, and the other high treason to give or take the Covenant.‡ It is true, the Duke of Queensberry, the King's Commissioner, made assurances of his Majesty's intention to support the religion established by law,§ but many must have already seen what those assurances were worth. Proselytizing was actively going on. The Earl of Perth who

* Kennett's *Complete History*, iii., 423.
† Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, i., ii., 175.
‡ Kennett, iii., 447.
§ Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 407.

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had changed his religion, was in the highest favour, while the Edinburgh mob showed more spirit than its superiors, by breaking into his chapel, and destroying the paraphernalia of his new creed.* In truth, the Parliament of Scotland "rushed into servility with a promptitude which lessened even in the King's eyes, the value of the compliment,"† and James could have hardly imagined that his wishes would have encountered any real opposition, when he wrote to the Parliament in April, 1686, desiring them to repeal the laws against Romanists, and to "show love to their brethren, as they saw him an indulgent father to his people."‡

Opposition to abolishing of penal laws against Romanists.

But the hatred with which the Romanist was regarded in England was trifling, when compared to the feeling against him in Scotland. His obsequious northern subjects would go far indeed in deference to "the King's religion," but they could not bring themselves at once to extend the favour of the law to the professors of the abhorred faith. It was hoped by the Court party that the bribe of an increased persecution of Presbyterians would satisfy the bishops, and some of them are said to have made an offer of their support upon these conditions.§ But when the measure came to be discussed in Parliament, the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishops of Dunkeld and Galloway opposed it, and the committee appointed to investigate the

* Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 431.

† Dalrymple, i., ii., 195. ‡ Kennett, iii., 448.

§ Ross and Paterson, if Burnet is to be trusted.—*Own Time*, p. 433.

penal statutes against Romanists, and to report, only recommended their being allowed to practise their religion in private. Even this was not accepted at once by the Parliament, it was talked of allowing the indulgence for the King's life, and as it were out of personal deference to him, and in spite of all the wiles of the Earl of Murray, the Royal Commissioner, a spirit of resistance to the royal will showed itself. The imperious temper of James was at once aroused. He wrote to dismiss the Parliament. He contemptuously removed from their sees the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Bishop of Dunkeld, giving the Archbishopric to Paterson, who had shown himself a ready advocate of the royal will, and Dunkeld to a clergyman named Hamilton, who is asserted to have borne a disreputable character.* Thus in Scotland as in England, the revenge taken upon the Church when it dared to assert any independence of the royal will, was the mean and atrocious one of disgracing it by bad appointments to its highest posts. Because the bishops would not instantly and without a murmur submit to sanction so glaring an injustice as to confer an exceptional favour upon the Romanist, while the unhappy Presbyterian was still left under the ban of statutes of terrible severity, the King assaulted the Church without scruple, both by his punishments and his rewards. The spirit of independence which now showed itself in the Scotch Parliament, astonished and delighted England. Little had been expected from them,

* Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 434.

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on account of the servile deference which they had displayed at the accession, but it was now seen that there were points on which they would not yield. The sympathies of the English clergy were awakened towards their brethren in the north, who now gave great proofs of activity and vigour, and wrote with force and success against the superstitions of Rome.*

Change in the royal policy.

As the signs of opposition increased, the King only asserted his absolute power more imperiously, declared that he had too far condescended in consulting the Parliament, and filled all the offices of trust with Romanists in defiance of the laws. He had now made the discovery here, as well as in England, that the Church would not back his policy of exalting the Romanists on the understanding that she might be still allowed to persecute the Dissenters. Then, as in England, so here, a change came over the royal policy. The hated Presbyterians and Dissenters must now be taken into protection and favour, that through their support, and in common with them, the Romanist might receive the royal favour.

Declaration of Indulgence.

The proclamation in which the King sets forth his new policy, is one of the most extraordinary to be found in our historical annals. It shows the hatred and contempt with which James still regarded the Covenanters, and his scarcely less open sentiment of dislike for all Presbyterians, even when he is professing to grant them a benefit. The Field Conventiclers are called the "enemies of

* Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 434.

Christianity, of our Government, and human society." * They are "to be rooted out with all severity of the laws"—that is, punished with *death* for attending a conventicle. *Moderate* Presbyterians are allowed to meet in private houses to hear such ministers as shall accept the Indulgence. Quakers are to meet as they please, and Roman Catholics, considering their many virtues and their devoted loyalty, are relieved from every sort of penal law and disqualification, made capable of all offices and *benefices*, and placed in the same position as any of the King's Protestant subjects. This the King says he does by his sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and *absolute power*. † Chap. XXXI.

"This Declaration," says Sir J. Dalrymple, "was received in Scotland with a sullen disregard. The Presbyterians saw that, under pretence of showing indulgence to Nonconformists, it was only meant to procure it for Roman Catholics." ‡ While it professed to relieve, it only insulted. *Moderate Presbyterians*, the great majority of the nation, were gratified by a qualified favour much less full than that given to Quakers. Extreme Presbyterians were still left to torture and death. Yet here, too, as in England, there were some found to applaud and thank the King for these grudging concessions. Some of the Presbyterian ministers signed an address of gratitude for "the liberty of the public and peaceable exercise of their ministerial function without any hazard," but many of the men who signed it are said to have been already engaged in cor- How received in Scotland.

* Kennett, iii., 448. † *Ib.* ‡ Dalrymple, i., iv., 86.

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respondence with Holland.* It is acknowledged by the compiler of the *Life of James* that "this Declaration, as it was worded, was blamed by all moderate men of both kingdoms, and created a greater jealousy of his Majesty's aiming at arbitrary government than anything that happened during his reign."† The King had dispensed with all the tests which the jealousy of Parliament had invented, and had substituted for them an oath never to oppose or resist his authority. Every one saw that a simple tyranny was intended.

The second Declaration.

So general were the objections to this proclamation, and so great the fears and jealousies raised by it, that the King was obliged to endeavour to effect the same thing in a more conciliatory and tranquillising form. The first Declaration was allowed to drop, and another was sent down more cautiously worded, allowing full liberty to all Presbyterians to set up conventicles in their own way. "They did all accept of it," says Burnet, "without pretending any scruples. But they were not so blind as not to see what was aimed at by it." They made addresses of thanks, but when the King's agents endeavoured to engage the leading men to undertake for the repeal of the Tests by Parliament, "they answered them in cold and general words."‡

The Episcopal clergy had the King's promise that he would maintain them in all their rights and

* Russell's *History of Church in Scotland*, ii., 311, note.
† Clarke's *Life of James II.*, ii., 111.
‡ Burnet's *Own Time*, p. 453.

privileges.* This was all they had to trust to, and it was, indeed, but little. They saw, like all other men, that James was deliberately purposed to exalt and promote Popery, and to override the law. They had experienced his arbitrary rigour for opposing his will in Parliament. Were they then so short-sighted as to suppose that the mere promise of a man, whose most sacred oath could not be depended on, was a sufficient guarantee? and were the rulers of the Church ready on this security to range themselves in opposition to the intelligent and respectable portion of the nation, and to continue firm in the struggle now rapidly impending to the prince, who derided their faith and infringed their liberties?

Effect of the King's arbitrary policy upon the Church.

It was the great and overwhelming misfortune of the Church in Scotland at this moment that it had not, like the Church in England, the hearty support and attachment of the nation. It had been the creature of the State, and it was forced now to cast in its lot with the power that had upheld it. Persecuted and humiliated by that power, it was nevertheless obliged to cling to it, for, without it, it could not stand. It might be sincerely opposed to Romanist errors, it might be truly desirous to uphold the majesty of the law and the liberty of the subject. It had lately given some proofs of these virtues. Still was it constrained, in spite of its better convictions, to cherish an unholy union with the supporters of an alien creed and an unhallowed despotism, lest, left to itself, it should prove

* *Life of James II.*, ii., 110.

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too weak to face the unpopularity which had gathered around it. It had not, like the Church of England, the great opportunity of throwing itself upon the sympathies of the nation, by refusing to read the King's Declaration. Being denied these sympathies, it was placed in the false position of leaning upon the King, whose Romanizing policy it opposed, and thus, when its frail defence was removed, being without the support of the popular sentiment, nothing was left to it but proscription and ruin.

# CHAPTER XXXII.

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The Church in Ireland—Abuses attacked by Lord Strafford—Royal Commission to consider grievances—Act to enable Impropriations to be given up to the Church—Other acts in aid of Church revenues—Odium likely to arise from these measures—Acts in the Parliament of 1640 in aid of the Church—Sentence on Bishop Adair—Sudden change in the Irish Parliament—Bishop Bramhall impeached—Usher's slackness—His conduct to Bishop Bedell—Dangers threatening the Church—Hatching of the Irish Rebellion—The Rebellion breaks out—Fearful cruelties—Rebels pretend the King's authority—Pretend favour to the Church at the outset—Soon declare themselves against all English Protestants—Curious anomalies in the struggle—Admirable conduct of Lord Ormond—A Peace made, but rejected by Pope's nuncio—Dublin surrendered to Parliament—The Common Prayer prohibited—The second phase of the Irish war—Terrible reprisals—The state of the Irish clergy—Cruelties practised on them by the Papists—Triumphs of Cromwell's forces no relief to them—Some clergy refuse to abandon Liturgy—Suppression of the Irish Church—Jeremy Taylor brought to Ireland—Composes the *Ductor Dubitantium*—Bishop Bramhall in exile—His letter to M. de la Milletière—The *Just Vindication*—Bramhall as a controversialist—Death of Usher—Usher and Bramhall compared—Distinctive character of the Restoration in Ireland—Presbyterianism in Ireland—The ministers petition against Prelacy and Service Book—Church divines petition—The sees filled up—Bramhall Primate—Revenues of Irish clergy improved—Obstacles of the Irish Church greater than ever—The *Dissuasive from Popery*—The clergy of Down and Connor—Reordinations—Deprivations—Penal statutes never enforced in Ireland—Irish Act of Uniformity—More deprivations under this act—Nonconformists saved from per-

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secution — Romish influence rises — Measures of Ormond against the Romanists—Mr. Boyle's efforts to spread the Scriptures in Irish—The use of the English language an obstacle—Ruined churches and scarcity of clergymen—The progress of the Irish Church — Danger to the Church in Ireland from accession of James — Lieutenancy of Lord Clarendon—He is removed—Tirconnell's open attacks upon the Church.

The Church in Ireland.



E quitted the history of the Church in Ireland at the point when, by a solemn act of the Convocation in the year 1634, the Thirty-nine Articles of the Synod of London were adopted as its confession of faith. The ecclesiastical abuses which were rampant in that country had at once, on his taking the office of Lord Deputy, engaged the attention of the vigorous mind of Lord Strafford, and he set himself in earnest to the work of removing them. The most crying grievance, and at the same time the one most easily reached, was the impoverished state of the Church revenues. When bishoprics ranged from £50 to five marks a year, and vicarages from forty to sixteen shillings,* what was to be expected save the universal prevalence of scandals? "The clergy of the Established Church," says Carte, "were generally ignorant and unlearned, loose and irregular in their lives and conversations, negligent of their cures and very careless of observing uniformity and decency of public worship."†

Abuses attacked by Lord Strafford.

* Carte's *Life of Ormond*, i., 68. Vesey's *Life of Bramhall.* Bramhall's *Letters.*

† *Life of Ormond*, i., 68.

Churches and glebe-houses were in ruins, bishops were taking advantage of their position to alienate the poor remains of the Church property to their children or strangers; the monies raised for charitable purposes were converted to private benefits; the crown was defrauded of its patronage and first-fruits; christenings and marriages took place in an irregular manner in private houses, while wives and children of clergy of the Protestant Church were avowed Romanists, and some of the chantries were still employed to maintain Romish priests and friars.* In the plantations made by King James in Ulster and elsewhere, the interests of the Church had been by no means fittingly cared for, glebes had been set out in inconvenient places, and defrauded both in quality and quantity; in many places the lay-patrons and lords of manors had seized the land assigned, and the Church had been completely robbed of its legal revenues.† To remove these grievous scandals was a task congenial to the energy and taste of Strafford. The bosom friend of Laud, and a devoted son of the Church of England, the abuses prevalent in Ireland at once shocked his religious convictions and gave a scope for the exercise of his love of arbitrary power. The spoilers of the Church had good cause to tremble for their ill-gotten gains. The unhesitating vigour of the Lord Deputy, admirably seconded by the energy of his friend and chaplain,

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* Strafford to Laud.—Carte's *Ormond*, i., 69.

† Carte, i., 72. Bramhall's *Works*, i., 84, 87, 89. (Oxford edition, 1842.)

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Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, were resolutely set to overthrow them.

Royal commission to consider grievances.

A royal commission was issued out to fourteen persons of the Lord Deputy's nomination, who were charged to consider the ecclesiastical grievances in the districts where plantations had been made with a view to their redress. It was no difficult matter to show that the undertakers, servitors, and natives who had been concerned in the plantations, had generally, by some neglect of their covenants, laid themselves open to forfeiture, and to make use of their uneasiness and desire for fresh patents for the benefit of the revenues of the Church. This Strafford did not fail to do, both in the patents themselves which were granted, and in the clause saving the rights of the bishop and clergy, introduced into the acts of Parliament which sanctioned them. In the eighteen counties where plantations had been made, a great service was thus done to the Church.* It soon became sufficiently apparent to the nation that Strafford was heartily set upon the work of repairing the injustice which the Church had suffered. With a Lord Deputy of these views, whose vigour in administration was known and feared, much might be hoped from the voluntary acts of those who desired either to court his favour or avert his anger.

Act to enable impropriations to be given up to the Church.

To make such voluntary movements more easily available, an Act was passed in the Parliament of 1634, which enabled all impropriators of ecclesiastical property, "freely out of their devotion, or

* Carte's *Life of Ormond*, i., 71.

otherwise at their pleasure, without any licence of alienation or in mortmain, to restore, dedicate, devise, limit, or convey the same, or any part thereof, for the maintenance of the ministers of God's holy word and sacraments, by deed under their respective hands or seals, or by their last wills duly attested and signed," the right of patronage to the churches benefitted being reserved to the donors.* Many of the impropriators who desired to stand well with the Lord Deputy, hastened to avail themselves of this power, and even to testify their zeal by further acts of munificence, in repairing and rebuilding the decayed and dilapidated churches. This liberality was encouraged by the example of Lord Strafford himself; who, sure of the King's approval in acts done for the interest of the Church, made additions to the incomes of the poorer sees, and granted to the clergy that fourth portion of their revenues which had been formerly reserved to the bishops, and afterwards seized on by the Crown.†

Other acts in aid of Church revenues.

Meantime, the resumption of grants thus made was carefully guarded against by Acts passed for preventing the depauperization of sees, and for restraining the power of the clergy themselves in granting leases.‡

Odium likely to arise from these measures.

It is probable, indeed, that the rights of the Crown were pushed to an excessive extent in claiming advowsons,§ as in other seignorial rights, and

* Carte's *Life of Ormond*, i., 76. † *Ibid.*, i., 81.

‡ Collier, *Church History*, pp. 8, 87. Carte, u. s.

§ "This case requires the stricter inquisition because it is general,

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some portion of the mass of odium accumulated against Strafford was due, doubtless, to his eager prosecution of the cause of the Church. Neither would his ecclesiastical administration be in all cases agreeable to the clergy themselves. The Court of High Commission was established at Dublin, and its censures were experienced by negligent or Puritanical clergy no less than by lay spoilers and oppressors. The Scotch sectaries were kept from insulting the government, worship, and ministers of the Church, as well as the Popish recusants confined to a less public exercise of their religion.* Henry Leslie, Bishop of Down and Connor, in his strenuous attempts, by conferences, censures, and depositions, to break down the Puritanism which was rampant in his diocese, was supported by the approval and power of the lord Deputy.† "This is not a business," writes Strafford to the bishop, "to be neglected or faintly slipped over, but quickly and roundly to be corrected in the first beginnings: lest, dandled over long, the humour grow more churlish, and difficult to be directed to the peace of Church and commonwealth, especially at a time when the assumption and

and, if it stood, would bring back to the Crown, out of unworthy hands, the advowsons of a great number of as good benefices as any be in the north of Ireland."—Bramhall to Strafford, Bramhall's *Works*, i., 84.

* Carte's *Ormond*, i., 183. Warner's *History of the Rebellion*, i., 3.

† "When I found a crown, a church, and a people spoiled, I could not imagine to redeem them from under the pressure with gracious smiles and gentle looks. It would cost warmer water than so."—Strafford to Wandsford. Carte's *Ormond*, iii., 11.

liberty of this generation of people threaten so much distraction and unquietness to both. And, therefore, as I must recommend your lordship's zeal therein, so will it be ever becoming your lordship's piety and courage confidently to oppose and withstand their disobedience and madness, as hitherto you have done; wherein you may be assured of all the assistance that rests in my power." * Doubtless, the Presbyterians of the north were indignant at being treated with the same coercive measures as the Papists of the west and south, and the opponents of the Laudian ritual would be joined in a common opposition with those who trembled for their ecclesiastical spoils. Upon the whole, however, the administration of Lord Strafford, if not scrupulously just, was eminently successful, and the commendation of Lord Clarendon is not undeserved:—"Ireland, which had been a sponge to draw and a gulf to swallow all that could be got from England merely to keep the reputation of a kingdom, was reduced to that good degree of husbandry and government, that it not only subsisted of itself, but gave this kingdom all that might have been expected from it, and the whole nation was beginning to be so civilized that it was a jewel of great lustre in the royal diadem." †

In the midst of these active labours of the Irish Deputy, the war in Scotland broke out. The King turned for advice and help in this emergency to his trusted friend and servant. First by letters, and

* Mant's *Church History*, i., 529. † *Rebellion*, p. 31.

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afterwards by his personal counsels, Strafford applied himself to meet the crisis; one principal part of his plans being to raise an army in Ireland, which might be thrown into the rear of the Scotch, and, in conjunction with the kindred Highlanders, act effectually against the Lowland Covenanters' forces.

Acts in the Parliament of 1640 in aid of the Church.

For this purpose, a Parliament was called in Dublin on March 20, 1640. The tone of this body was eminently loyal, and complimentary to the Lord Deputy, though beneath the surface there lurked a deep-seated discontent. Among other things, the members congratulate him on "his great care and pains in restoration of the Church;" and in their first session they passed two Acts for the benefit of the clergy. One of these enabled devout persons, without license of mortmain, to endow benefices with new glebe, provided the glebe of any one church so endowed did not exceed forty acres, and the other lessened the penalty incurred by an incumbent for not paying the twentieth part of his benefice to the Crown from deprivation to a forfeiture of the treble value of the twentieth part. *

Sentence on Bishop Adair.

In the temper in which the ruling body then was, it was not safe for any man to declare sentiments savouring of Puritanical leanings, or of sympathy for the Scotch. Archibald Adair, Bishop of Killala, having unadvisedly done this in a dispute with Mr. Corbet, an Episcopal divine, who had fled from Scotland, experienced a severe, and, as it

* Collier, *Church History*, viii., 182-3.

appears, a very exaggerated punishment. He was brought before the High Commission Court, and, for words spoken to Corbet, was fined, imprisoned, and deprived, the House of Lords voting that its privileges should not screen him, and all men appearing as if overwhelmed with horror at his crime.*

Sudden change in the Irish Parliament.

Yet, in a very short time after this, when the Long Parliament had met in England, and the probable current of affairs was sufficiently marked, there were no more bitter and unscrupulous enemies of the Deputy, whom they had but lately lauded, than the members of the Irish Parliament. They voted and despatched to England a remonstrance censuring the whole of his government and policy, ecclesiastical as well as civil. They complained bitterly of the High Commission Court, which had been severely felt both by Roman Catholics and Nonconformists, and they had also a grievance about the fees and customs of the clergy, which had been revived and enforced by the direction of Lord Strafford. † As the English Parliament proceeded vehemently onwards in its prosecution of Strafford, the Irish sedulously imitated it, and impeached his Privy Counsellors on a charge of high treason, which it was endeavoured to substantiate

* Carte's *Life of Ormond*, i., 95, sq. Burnet's *Life of Bedell*, p. 142. Vesey's *Life of Bramhall*.—Bishop Bedell was opposed to the sentence of deprivation, and defended Bishop Adair.

† Some of these must have been sufficiently annoying for Romanists to pay to Protestants. They were charges for christenings, marriages, burials, breaking of ground in churches, hearse-cloths, mortuaries, *St. Patrick's ridges, soul money, anointing muttons, holy water clerk, and Mary gallons*, &c.—Carte's *Ormond*, i., 101.

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in the same illegal manner, as had been sanctioned by the English House of Commons.*

Bishop Bramhall impeached.

Among these Privy Councillors, was Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, ever one of the most efficient and devoted subordinates of the Lord Deputy.† On March 12, 1641, the bishop writes to his wife: "Shall we receive good at the hands of the Lord, and shall we not receive evil? He gives and takes away, blessed be His holy name! I have been near a fortnight at the Black Rod, charged with treason. Never any man was more innocent of that foul crime, the ground is only my reservedness. But this is a time of humiliation for the present." And in the following month he writes to the Primate Usher: "It would have been a great comfort and contentment to me to have received a few lines of counsel or comfort in this my great affliction, which has befallen me for my zeal to the service of his Majesty, and the good of this Church, in being a poor instrument to restore the usurped advowsons and impropriations to the Crown, and to increase the revenues of the Church in a fair just way, always with the consent of parties—which did ever use to take away errors, but now it is said to be obtained by threatening and force. What force did I ever use to any? What one man ever suffered for not consenting? My force was only force of reason and law; the scale must needs yield when weight is put into it; and your Grace knows to what pass many bishoprics were brought;

* Carte's *Ormond*, i., 127, sq.

† Mant's *Church History of Ireland*, i., 507.

some to £100 per annum, some to £50, as Waterford, Kilfenoragh, and some others; some to five marks, as Cloyne and Kilmacduagh. How in some dioceses, as in Ferns and Leiglin, there was scarce a living left, that was not farmed out to the patron, or to some for his use, for two, three, four or five pounds per annum, for a long time, three lives or a hundred years. How the chantries of Ardee, Dundalk, &c., were employed to maintain priests and friars, which are now the chief maintenance of the incumbents. In all this my part was only labour and expense, but I find that losses make a deeper impression than benefits; I cannot stop men's mouths, but I challenge the world for one farthing I ever got, either by references or Church preferments; I fly to your Grace as an anchor at this time, when my friends cannot help me."*

Usher's slackness.

There is somewhat of implication in this letter that the Primate had not so heartily espoused the Bishop of Derry's cause as he might have done.† Yet Usher had given express and repeated testimony to Bramhall's great usefulness in the work of Church Restoration. "Not only myself," he writes, "but all my successors will have great

* Bramhall's *Works*, i., 90.

† Perhaps indeed this was unfounded. Usher replies from England, "I assure you my care never slackened in soliciting your cause at Court, with as much vigilance as if it did touch mine own person, and never intermitted an occasion of mediating with his Majesty in your behalf," &c. Probably acting in Ireland would have been more useful than mediating in England. The Primate of the Church ought to have been on the spot in the hour of danger.

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cause to honour the memory of the Lord Deputy and yours, whom God hath used as an instrument to bring this work to such perfection."* It is here, however, that the weak part of the character of this great prelate is seen. He shrank from taking a decided line in the administrative part of his office. Longing for peace above all things, and immersed in his profound studies, he appears sometimes as though shrinking from the responsibilities belonging to the Primate of a Church in times of difficulty and danger.

His conduct to Bishop Bedell.

Certainly another great prelate, Bishop Bedell, had cause to complain of his apathy and slackness in supporting him. Bishop Bedell had been involved in a dispute by reason of his promotion of a Mr. King, a convert from Popery, who was employed under the bishop in his favourite and most useful scheme of translating the Bible into Irish. King had been recommended by the Primate himself, but his presentation to a living was contested by a Mr. Baily, who had procured a gift of his benefice under the Great Seal. Bishop Bedell supported King, but was overridden by the Archbishops' Prerogative Court, and censured, while the unfortunate Mr. King was fined and imprisoned, and the intruder instituted in the benefice by the Lord Primate's Vicar. A scandalous injustice appears to have been perpetrated, but for some reason or other Usher would not interfere. "The strangest part," says Bishop Burnet, "of this transaction, was that which the Primate acted, who though he loved the bishop beyond all the

* Elrington's *Usher*, p. 206, note.

rest of his order, and valued him highly for the zealous discharge of his office, that distinguished him so much from others; yet he could not be prevailed upon to interpose in the matter, nor to stop the unjust prosecution that this good man had fallen under for so good a work." It is conjectured, indeed, with great probability, that Usher have taken offence at Bedell at this time, on may account of the Synod which he had held in his diocese, to make canons of local obligation. This proceeding, if not illegal, was certainly unwise, but it assuredly ought not to have induced so great and good a man as Usher to have tolerated an injustice performed in his name.*

Dangers threatening the Church.

The fall of Lord Strafford gave a great impulse and advantage to the enemies of the Irish Church. Bramhall was in prison, with two hundred petitions sent in to the Parliament against him;† and the late Bishop of Killala, who had been deprived for his sympathy with the Scotch Covenanters, was now promoted to the See of Waterford. The attacks of the Presbyterians of the north upon the bishops, their persons, and their office, were now become loud and menacing.‡ The King was obliged to consent to the suspension of the High Commission Court, and to allow all those who considered themselves aggrieved by any of the late measures for improving the Church revenues, to commence actions in the courts of law. The

* Burnet's *Life of Bedell*, pp. 131-5. Elrington's *Life of Usher*, p. 202, sq.

† Taylor's *Funeral Sermon on Bramhall.*

‡ Mant's *Church History of Ireland*, i., 548-560.

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Church had now no longer the protection it used to receive at the council-table, and it was contended that all matters relating to the fees, rights, and customs of the clergy should be settled by Parliament alone. It was now also loudly asserted that the surrenders of impropriations which had been made under the late Lord Deputy were only in name voluntary, but really constrained. Committees of Parliament demanded of the King that "all persons disseized by extorted consent and by order of council, to which they submitted out of fear, should, *without any proof of that force and terror*, be immediately restored to the possession of their pretended lay-fees, and the clergy left to sue at law for the recovery of possession;" and that the bishops, to whom lands had been granted in the plantations, should be compelled to alienate great portions of them by freehold grants.* The Parliament further condemned the dues and customs paid to the clergy in such terms that tithes were held to be included; and they were obliged to add a proviso afterwards to signify that it was not intended to take away these. The High Commission Court was voted a great and universal grievance, and tending to the subversion of the fundamental laws of the land.†

Hatching of the Irish Rebellion.

The chief difference between the policy of the Irish and English Parliament at this juncture was, that there was not in Ireland the same bitter and ferocious animosity against individuals which was displayed in England. The Puritanical party was

* Carte's *Ormond*, i., 143. † *Ibid.*, i., 144.

weak in numbers, though supported by the Lords Justices Parsons and Borlase; the Romanist party held that their wrongs were too deep-seated and universal to be satisfied with a few exceptional impeachments and prosecutions. From the time of the fall of Strafford, the disputes in England between the King and his subjects, the wars and successes of the Scotch, that great design which had been for many years vaguely cherished by "the mere Irish" rapidly gathered form and substance. The ancient Milesian could never recognise the English right of conquest; the devoted adherent of the Romish religion could never see aught but profanation in the intrusion of the Protestant. In eighteen counties plantations had been made of lands which were still thought in the country to belong rightfully to their old possessors; in every parish church and cathedral in the island the words of a reformed liturgy offended the ears of those still enamoured of a semi-barbarian Christianity. It was idle to tell the Romanist that the penalties against his faith had been much relaxed, and that he now enjoyed a comparative ease. The priest, educated in France or Spain, and accustomed to witness the splendour and ascendency of his religion there, would be satisfied with nothing less in his own land ever faithful to the chair of St. Peter; and no amount of prescription could invalidate the claims of the Church.* For a general insurrection against the English dominion in Ireland,

* Warner's *History of the Irish Rebellion*, p. 12, sq. Carte's *Ormond*, i., 154.

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the cause was ever present and active, the occasion only was wanting. The success of the Scotch in their armed rising, and the concessions made to them, the weakness of the English government, distracted by quarrels between the King and Parliament, furnished the occasion.* The Irish officers who had taken service abroad began to return in great numbers; they brought money from Spain and promises from Cardinal Mazarin. The weakness and inefficiency of the Lords Justices encouraged the scheme, and during the summer of 1641 the plans were matured for a general rising over the whole kingdom in the month of October.

The Rebellion breaks out.

Timely information enabled the incompetent representatives of government to save the Castle and City of Dublin, but in the north, among the O'Neils, Mc Mahons, and Mc Guires; in Longford, Cavan, and almost throughout all the country, the rebellion broke out at once, attended with acts of hideous cruelty and bloodshed. The innate cruelty of the Celtic race, which in former times had made it necessary to enact laws against plowing by the tail, plucking the wool off sheep,† and such like barbarities, was now seen in its full force. Sir Phelim O'Neil, a chief leader of the rebels, sanctioned and ordered the most horrible atrocities. Even Irish children were to be seen stripping and killing those of English extraction; and to such a madness of cruelty were the rebels excited, that pieces of flesh were deliberately hacked out of the cattle taken from the English, while yet alive,

Fearful cruelties.

* Carte's *Ormond*, i., 156. † *Ibid.*, i., 79.

and the wretched animals preserved to gratify by their sufferings the intense malignity of their torturers.*

Rebels pretend the King's authority.

At the beginning of the outbreak, the rebels pretended to act in the name of the King, and even to have his authority. They produced a document to which the great seal was appended, but it was afterwards shown that this had been cut off from a patent belonging to Lord Caulfield, and that the King, who was in Scotland at the time, had never sealed any similar document.†

Pretend favour to the Church at the outset.

In like manner the rebels at first pretended to be acting in the interests of the Established Church and the bishops as against the Puritans and the Scotch. In the manifesto of the Ulster rebels, they mention, as one of their grievances, the Puritanical practices against the Protestant bishops,‡ and they pray the King to take a course "for the securing of themselves and the *Protestants* of the kingdom, his only true and obedient subjects against such factious and seditious Puritans, the disturbers of all states, as had brought the like misery on Queen Elizabeth and King James had they not been by them and their wise councils prevented. § At the outset, also, of the rebellion, Bedell, the venerable

* Rushworth, iii., 1, 185. Carte's *Ormond*, i., 177. Warner, p. 107. Borlase.

† Carte's *Life of Ormond*, i., 181. Burnet's *Memoirs of the Hamiltons*, p. 193.

‡ "These factious persons, employing several others with instruments ready drawn to get hands thereunto, to be presented to the Parliament of England against the Papists and Protestant bishops of the kingdom."

§ Carte's *Ormond*, i., 182.

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Bishop of Kilmore, was well and honourably treated by the insurgents of Cavan, and allowed to live in his own house unmolested. * It is even asserted by his biographer, Burnet, that he drew up with his own hand the *Remonstrance of the Gentry and Commonalty of Cavan*, which was presented to the lords justices by Dean Jones,† and which contains a general complaint of grievances, together with professions of loyalty, and of a desire to live quietly. ‡

Soon declare themselves against all English Protestants.

But these illusions were soon dispelled, and it was quickly found that the sentiments of nationality and religion impelled the Irish to attack, pillage, and murder all who were of English blood and Protestant faith. A kindred faith, indeed, soon began to prove itself a stronger attraction than a common origin. The Roman Catholics of the Pale descended from an English stock, but joined with the "mere Irish" in a community of faith, speedily began to turn from the English to the Irish side. Lord Gormanstown, their leader, writes to the Earl of Ormond, the Commander of the King's forces: —"When first the design was discovered, most of the lords towards Dublin resorted to the justices for arms, thinking at that time the Irish had

* Bishop Bedell was afterwards conveyed to the tower of Lochwater, where he was badly treated. Many of the English took sanctuary with him, but (Burnet says) he was the only Englishman spared in all Cavan. Burnet's *Life of Bedell*, pp. 181-203.

† "Mr. Talbot, a gentleman of that county, informed the Lords Justices that this remonstrance was framed in the Pale, and brought to Cavan by Captain Plunket."—Warner's *Irish Rebellion*, p. 110.

‡ Burnet's *Life of Bedell*, p. 184. Carte's *Ormond*, i., 174.

revived the old quarrel, and thought to expel us who this four hundred years had been possessed of the most considerable parts of the kingdom. But they, in conformity to the resolution of their patrons, the Parliament of England, determining to suppress our religion, put only some few arms in our hands.....My lord, the cause is God's in the first place, and whether we shall be subject to any other Parliament than our own, or that we should see the majesty of our prince so far abridged of the rights of it, as that his subjects will presume to clothe themselves in his power, and limit him how far he shall be just and merciful." * The English of the Pale soon, indeed, began to espouse the cause as heartily as the O'Neils and Farrells. "Many of them," says Lord Ormond, "not only countenanced these treasons and inhumanities, but have been principal actors in them." † Hence the issue at stake became a simple one. It was nothing more than the old quarrel of Papist against Protestant, embittered by exasperations and acerbities peculiar to the circumstances of the case. A solemn synod of the Romish clergy approved and justified the rebellion; ‡ the Pope's emissaries directed and controlled it; while the exasperated Protestants declared that they would be satisfied with nothing less than the extirpation of the Romish superstition, and that the liberties the Papists had formerly enjoyed, should never again be allowed them. §

* Carte's *Ormond*, iii., 55. † *Ibid.*, iii., 59.
‡ Warner's *Irish Rebellion*, p. 201.
§ Carte's *Ormond*, iii., 57. War er's *Rebellion*, p. 312.

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Curious anomalies in the struggle.

But though the issue was simple, the struggle presented some curious anomalies. Both sides used the name of the King, and professed to be contending for his prerogative. The English Parliament, in spite of their loud professions, can scarcely be thought to have been sincere in aiding a contest which a royalist general was carrying on for the interest of a king with whom they were at open war. On the other hand, the King was constantly desiring a cessation of arms at any sacrifice that he might employ against his revolted subjects in England, not only the soldiers of Lord Ormond's army, but even the rebels themselves. The Lords Justices and the Dublin Council thwarted Lord Ormond, and favoured the Parliament; in the north, a Scotch army, under Monro, took the Covenant, and rejected the control of the Commander-in-chief. *

Admirable conduct of Lord Ormond.

In the midst of the extraordinary difficulties of his position, the virtue, prudence, and valour of the Earl of Ormond saved the English power in Ireland, and upheld for a time the authority of the King. With a starving army and an empty treasury, with a constant opposition to cope with from the Government in Ireland, and his master in England but too much inclined to compromise his honour for an apparent advantage, the conduct of this great man prints a shining blazon on the page of history, and redeems this struggle from utter reprobation. As the contest proceeded, his difficulties only increased. The King allowing him osten-

* Warner's *Irish Rebellion*, p. 317.

sibly to conduct the negociations with the rebels, at the same time commissioned Lord Glamorgan, a Romanist, to make the most extravagant promises of religious concessions. The Pope's nuncio arrived in Ireland, and found even these concessions insufficient, demanding nothing less than the absolute and complete ascendency of the Romish religion, and the surrender of the sees and livings to their clergy.* Lord Glamorgan agreed to his demands, and the King, in despair at the ill aspect of all things, wrote to Lord Ormond bewailing the utter ruin of his affairs, and feebly assenting to even this concession. "In some convenient parish, where the much greater number are Papists, I give you power to permit them to have some places which they may use as chapels for their devotion," which, in effect, in the condition of Ireland as to religion, was to allow the establishment of the Romish faith. †

A peace made, but rejected by Pope's nuncio.

At length the more moderate of the confederates concluded a peace with the King's Lord Lieutenant, but this was despised by the Scotch forces in the north on one side, and repudiated by the Pope's nuncio on the other. This prelate excited the "mere Irish" to resist the pacification, and brought them under the command of Owen O'Neil to besiege Dublin, and Lord Ormond who was shut up there.

* Leland's *History of Ireland*, b. v., ch. vii. Mant's *Church History of Ireland*, i., 574.

† Carte's *Ormond*, iii., 418. Leland's *History of Ireland*, b. v., ch. vii.

Chap. XXXII. Dublin surrendered to Parliament.

Destitute of men and supplies, with no one to whom he could turn in his straits, with his own private means completely spent, and threatened by an enemy red-handed from the massacres of Ulster, the loyal Ormond was at last reduced to treat with the English Parliament, and in the beginning of 1647, surrendered the City of Dublin, and his power as Lord Lieutenant, to their Commissioners.

Common Prayer prohibited.

The first act of these Commissioners was to prohibit the use of the Common Prayer in all the churches of the city, and to order the use of the Directory. This order was, of course, unauthorized by law, as the Irish Parliament had come to no such resolution, but the faction now triumphant little regarded such formalities.*

The second phase of the Irish war.

The first chapter of the History of the Irish Rebellion may be said to end with the surrender of Dublin to the Parliament. But for some years longer war still continued to rage in that unhappy country. Lord Ormond seeing another faint hope for the King's cause in the disgust with which both Papists and Presbyterians regarded the growth of the Independents' power in England, returned to Cork, and united the discordant elements of Protestants and Romanists, who were still true to their loyalty, in another army. Ably seconded by Lord Inchiquin, he was able at first to make some progress against the Parliamentarian forces, and to besiege Dublin, but the ultra-

* Collier's *Church History*, viii., 360. Mant's *Church History of Ireland*, i., 585.

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Romanists still held aloof; Colonel Jones, Governor of Dublin, sallied forth and defeated his army, and Cromwell arrived in Ireland with his disciplined and victorious troops, burning to glut their swords with the blood of Irish Papists. The fearful massacre at Drogheda struck terror into the hearts of Ormond's army, and as place after place fell, and the Romanists in his army became daily more insubordinate, and the young King who had betrayed the cause by his taking of the Covenant in Scotland, privately exhorted him to retire, Ormond at length abandoned the hopeless struggle, and sailed for France.*

The war lingered on under Lord Clanricarde, but here too, as in England and Scotland, the strong arm of the Independents was everywhere triumphant, and the serried ranks and indomitable spirit of the veterans of Cromwell and Ireton overthrew and annihilated the weak and wavering bands of the Irish confederates.

Terrible reprisals.

Reprisals at which humanity shudders, were taken upon the Irish without scruple and without pity.† "The miserable rebellion," says Bishop Heber, "was begun in rashness and miscalculation by Roger More, carried on in folly and brutal cruelty by the drunken O'Neil, and the savage rabble whom he could neither lead nor control; and suppressed by a system of military tyranny, the most perfect, the most effectual, the most wicked,

* Leland's *History of Ireland*, b. vi., ch. 1 and 2.
† Neal's *History of the Puritans*, iv., 17, sq.

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and the most remorseless of which Christendom affords an example."*

The state of the Irish clergy.

But during these terrible scenes of war and slaughter what was the state of the loyal episcopal clergy of the Church of Ireland? To them indeed both sides were equally hostile. The Papist scorning them as heretics, and hating them as intruders, and the Independent or Anabaptist despising them as priests of Baal, and limbs of antichrist—on every side there was for them menace, danger, and destruction. Neither was there for the Irish clergy the same refuge which sheltered so many of their brethren in England—the sanctuary of the houses of munificent and friendly laymen. In Ireland, there were but few great and wealthy Protestant noblemen like Lord Ormond, and long years of war and rapine had annihilated the resources even of these. There has been no Walker to chronicle the sufferings of the Irish clergy, but we cannot doubt that they equalled, and probably exceeded those of the English.

Cruelties practised on them by the Papists.

While the Papist insurgents were in power, the Protestant clergy had often to experience the utmost refinement of cruelty and malice. There were no scenes witnessed in England even amidst the wildest excesses of the sectaries, such as were seen at Limerick, when a Protestant clergyman, his wife and four children were deliberately murdered in cold blood; or at Cashel, when a wretched

* Heber's *Life of Taylor*. Taylor's *Works*, i., 102. For a graphic account of some of the scenes in the repression of the Irish Rebellion, see Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. i.

man, stript and bleeding, was driven through the streets, and pricked on with darts and spears till he fell down dead. Scarce indeed in the annals of any land, however barbarous, can be paralleled the atrocious outrages inflicted upon Protestant clergy and their remains, at Kilkenny; when the mutilated head of a preacher, with its mouth slit from ear to ear, was stuck upon the market cross, and with the Bible placed before it, was called upon with hideous mockery to deliver one of its accustomed sermons.*

Triumph of Cromwell's forces no relief to them.

The Romish bishops and clergy claimed the preferments, and assumed the titles of the Protestants, and the Anglican Church in Ireland would seem to have almost disappeared before the arrival of the English forces turned back the tide of war with a resistless strength. But the triumph of Cromwell and Ireton was no triumph for the orthodox clergy. In the ranks of the English, Hugh Peters officiated at the same time as colonel of a regiment, and chaplain-general to the army; and but scant consideration for the lovers of Episcopacy and liturgy was to be expected from this mountebank fanatic.

Some clergy refuse to abandon liturgy.

Much brave and loyal resistance to the illegal orders for discontinuing the liturgy was shown by the clergy, and several of the bishops and presbyters continued to use it throughout all the period of the troubles. In the Chapel of Trinity College, Bishop Martin, the Provost, nobly persevered in

* Mant's *Church History of Ireland*, i., 561. Temple's *Irish Rebellion*.

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its use, and John Lesley, Bishop of Raphoe, after defending his castle from the attacks of Cromwell, showed equal bravery and constancy in persevering in the exercise of his episcopal office.*

Suppression of the Irish Church.

But in Ireland as in England, under the vigorous religious policy of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, the Church was effectually silenced and suppressed; and the most zealous adherents of the system now dominant in England, supported by the merciless confiscations made by Cromwell, filled the places of the Protestant episcopal clergy.† It must needs have been with bitter aversion and disgust, that those Protestants to whom true religion and useful learning were still dear, submitted to the ministrations of these fanatics, and anxiously must they have desired teachers of a different stamp.

Jeremy Taylor brought to Ireland.

To such a desire on the part of Lord Conway, who had large estates in the neighbourhood of Lisburn, was due the removal of the illustrious Jeremy Taylor to that church which he afterwards so much benefitted and adorned. During the period of the rebellion, Taylor had experienced the same adversity which had overtaken other men of like principles with himself. He had been deprived, and more than once imprisoned; he had been reduced to the greatest poverty, and forced to be beholden to the liberality of his devoted friend, John Evelyn, for the means of support.‡ Yet, in

* Mant's *Church History of Ireland*, i., 583, sq.
† Heber's *Life of Taylor*. Taylor's *Works*, i., 102.
‡ *Ibid.*, i., 66.

spite of persecution and straitened means, he had continued to send forth, in marvellously quick succession, those great works which have done honour to his name and to English divinity. *The Liberty of Prophesying*, *The Golden Grove*, *The Great Exemplar*, *The Holy Living and Dying*, testify, by the devotional spirit which breathes in them, a mind raised above the distractions of the times; and in his course of sermons for a year, he labours, though debarred from preaching, to instruct the faithful sons of the Church of England in necessary truths.

In the midst of his unwearied literary labours, came the offer from Lord Conway of a lectureship at Lisburn, with a promise of further advancement. The offer was not a very tempting one. "I like not," writes Taylor to Evelyn, "the condition of being a lecturer under the dispose of another, nor to serve in my semi-circle where a Presbyterian and myself shall be like Castor and Pollux, the one up and the other down; which, methinks, is like worshipping the sun and making him the deity, that we may be religious half the year, and every night serve another interest. Sir, the stipend is so inconsiderable, it will not pay the charge and trouble of removing myself and family. It is wholly arbitrary; for the Triers may overthrow it, or the vicar may forbid it, or the subscribers may die, or grow weary, or poor, or be absent." * Yet, with all these disadvantages, he was fain to accept

* Taylor's *Works*, i., 81.

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the charge, and removed with his family to Portmore, in the neighbourhood of Lisburn.

Composes the *Ductor Dubitantium.*

Here, amidst the beautiful scenery of Lough Neagh and Lough Bag, he occupied himself with completing his great work, *Ductor Dubitantium*, and in attending to his duties at Lisburn. Yet even here persecution once more overtook the great divine and eloquent preacher, and he was summoned to repair to Dublin to defend himself from the charge of being a disaffected character, and having used the sign of the cross in baptism. He escaped without punishment, and returned to his friends at Portmore; but soon after, making a journey to London for literary purposes, he was able to take part in the events which preceded the restoration of the King, and to return again to Ireland only to be admitted into the order of chief governors of the Church.

Bishop Bramhall in exile.

The rebellion may be said to have given Taylor to Ireland, but the active energies of another great prelate who might have done so much in giving life and vigour to the Church there, were kept, by the madness of the times, in banishment for nearly twenty years. Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, had been at length released from his imprisonment by the intervention of the King, the charge still hanging over his head and ready to be revived at any time. Escaping from the attacks of the Puritans in Dublin, he repaired to his northern diocese, where he was very nearly falling a victim to the crafty designs of Sir Phelim O'Neil. He became also speedily an object of suspicion to the people of Derry, so that

he was obliged to escape into England. He repaired to Yorkshire, his native county, where he strenuously advocated the King's cause; and when the battle of Marston Moor broke the hopes of the royalists, he accompanied the Marquis of Newcastle and other exiles to Hamburgh.* From thence he went to Brussels, where he continued, for the most part, till the year 1648, with Sir Henry de Vic, the King's resident, preaching and administering the Sacraments, and often performing the rite of Confirmation. The English merchants at Antwerp frequently attended his ministrations and contributed to his support. In the year 1648, when Ormond's hopes revived, and he thought a union of men of all religions might be made on the common basis of loyalty to the Crown, Bramhall returned to Ireland. He was here exposed to extreme peril. At Limerick the Roman Catholics sought his life for declaring that the Earl of Roscommon died a Protestant, whom they wished to represent as a convert to their faith; and at the revolt of Cork he narrowly escaped falling into the hands of Cromwell. Had this been the case, there is little doubt that his fate would have been like that of Laud, as Cromwell expressed his bitter disappointment in missing the "Irish Canterbury;" and Bramhall was afterwards specially exempted from the indemnity of 1652. Having been chased by the frigates of the Parliament, and in great danger of capture,

* This account of Bishop Bramhall is taken from the Life, Notes, Letters, &c., printed in the first vol. of his Works, as published in the Anglo-Catholic Library.

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Bramhall again reached Holland, in which country he principally resided during his second term of banishment. At one time he was reduced to such straits, that he supported himself by acting as prize-master for Charles II. during the war between the English Commonwealth and the Dutch, for which purpose he resided at Flushing.*

His letter to M. de la Milletière.

In 1651, however, he was at Paris, where the King then kept his court; and here it was that he performed a signal service to the Church by his powerful pen. A councillor of the King of France, M. de la Milletière, had written a letter to Charles II., exhorting him to change his religion as the only hope for his restoration to his kingdom. "To this book," says Jeremy Taylor, "the Bishop of Derry made so ingenious, so learned, and so acute a reply; he so discovered the errors of the Roman Church, retorted the arguments, stated the questions, demonstrated the truth and shamed their procedures, that nothing could be a greater argument of the bishop's learning, great parts, deep judgment, quickness of apprehension, and sincerity

* Thurloe's *State Papers*, i., 464, &c. The bishop alludes to the hardships which he and other exiles had to bear, in his *Just Vindication*, chap. x. "They who have composed minds, free from distracting cares, and means to maintain them, and friends to assist them, and their books and notes by them, do little imagine with what difficulties poor exiles struggle whose minds are more occupied with what they should eat to-morrow than what they should write, being chased as vagabonds into the merciless world to beg relief of strangers.....Or if exiles can subsist without begging, yet they are necessitated to do or suffer things not so agreeable to them; wherein they deserve the pity of all good men."—Bramhall's *Works*, i., 276.

in the Catholic and Apostolic faith, or of the follies and prevarications of the Church of Rome." *

The *Just Vindication.*

The answer to M. de la Milletière was quickly followed by the *Just Vindication of the Church of England* from the charge of schism. "The Roman priests," says Bishop Taylor, "being wearied and baffled by the wise discourses and pungent arguments of the English divines, had studiously declined any more to dispute the particular questions against us, but fell at last upon a general charge, imputing to the Church of England the great crime of schism; and by this they thought they might, with most probability, deceive unwary and unskilful readers, for they saw the schism and they saw we had left them, and because they considered not the causes, they resolved to outface us in the charge. Now it was that the bishop undertook the question, and, in a full discourse, proves the Church of Rome not only to be guilty of the schism by making it necessary to depart from them, but they did actuate the schisms, and themselves made the first separation in the great point of the Pope's supremacy, which was the palladium for which they principally contended. He made it appear that the popes of Rome were usurpers of the rights of kings and bishops: that they brought in new doctrines in every age, that they imposed their own devices on Christendom as articles of faith, that they prevaricated the doctrines of the Apostles, that the Church of England only returned to her primitive purity, that she joined with Christ and his Apostles, that

* Taylor's *Sermon.*—Bramhall's *Works*, i., 68.

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she agreed in all the sentiments of the primitive Church. He stated the questions so wisely, and conducted them so prudently, and handled them so learnedly, that I may truly say they never were more materially confuted by any man since the questions have so unhappily disturbed Christendom." *

Bramhall as a controversialist.

This excellent treatise was replied to by the Romanists, and defended by its author with similar power and learning; and, perhaps, of all the numerous band of learned controversialists against Rome whom our Church has produced, none could be cited as surpassing Bramhall in power, acuteness, and precision. But it was not only in contending against the Romanists that the bishop employed the long years of his exile. With equal vigour he defended the Church from Presbyterian assaults, and outraged philosophy and common sense from the attacks of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury. † We may well, indeed, wonder at works of such great learning and power, of so varied and extensive a range, being composed in a time of exile, distress, and penury, without the facilities for consulting libraries, or any assistance for shortening learned labour.

* Taylor's *Sermon.* Bramhall's *Works*, i., 69.

† The following are the titles of his works on these subjects:— (I.) *A fair warning to take heed of the Scotch discipline.* (1649.) *The Serpent-salve, or the Observator's grounds discussed.* (1643.) His *Vindication of Himself and the Episcopal Clergy from the charge of Popery against Mr. Baxter.* (II.) *A Defence of true Liberty from antecedent and extrinsecal necessity.* (1655.) *Castigations of Mr. Hobbes' Animadversions.* (1658.) *The Catching of the Leviathan.* (1658.)

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Death of Usher.

With such great luminaries as Bramhall and Taylor following closely upon Bedell and Usher, the Anglican Church in Ireland takes a conspicuous position in the history of this period. Four years before the era of the Restoration, the Primate had closed his long and various labours, and yielded up his pious spirit amidst the respect and estimation of all men. Only a few days before his death, he gave to his friend, Dr. Parr, who had preached before him, a declaration of his faith and hope, suited to the humility and devotion of his life, and in due accordance with this were his last words:— "O Lord, forgive me, especially my sins of omission." *

Usher and Bramhall compared.

No men could have been more opposed than Usher and Bramhall in temper and disposition; the one peace-loving, retiring, mild, studious, unenterprising; the other vigilant, acute, impetuous, practical. Hence the different estimation in which they were held by the usurping government, the one being honoured above his fellows, and the other pursued with a peculiar rancour. From Usher no schemes were to be apprehended for changing the existing order of things, in which he acquiesced with a melancholy resignation; the vigorous and combative spirit of the Bishop of Derry was likely to leave no stone unturned to serve his King and Church. Yet these two prelates, differing so widely in temper and principles, lived in mutual esteem and affection. "We had no contention among us," says Bramhall, "but who should hate contention

* Elrington's *Life of Usher*, pp. 276-7.

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most, and pursue the peace of the Church with swiftest paces."* With such men, and many others of similar spirit in its ranks, there was no fear that the Irish Church could suffer more than a temporary eclipse.

Distinctive character of the Restoration in Ireland.

The restoration of the monarchy was for Ireland, as well as England, the restoration of the Anglican Church, but not with a complete similarity in the circumstances which attended that event. Neither were the cases of Ireland and Scotland parallel. It is true that in both countries a large proportion of the population was opposed to the Anglican system, but in Scotland the opposition was on the ground of the Reformation, and in Ireland from hostility to it. Hence, in the one case, the opposition had to be treated with some sort of respect; in the other, forbearance was thought neither to be needed nor justified. There was no question as to the propriety of surrendering Ireland to the Romanists, because, for the moment, the Reformed Church had succumbed under the attacks of a variety of enemies; though there might be a question of the expediency of introducing the mere shell of the Anglican Church into Scotland without any of the life-giving adjuncts of liturgy and ritual.

Presbyterianism in Ireland.

But though the Romanist had no cause or right to hope for a settlement in his favour, that busy and bigoted faction which had troubled England, dominated over Scotland, and gained a footing in Ireland, was not prepared to relinquish

* Bramhall's *Works*, i., 21, note.

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its advantages without a struggle. In the north of Ireland, the orthodox clergy had, during the period of the troubles, been generally superseded by Scotch Presbyterians, a few of whom had also settled in the neighbourhood of Dublin, the livings in other parts of the country being not good enough to tempt them.* The ministers in the north were among "the sturdiest champions of the Covenant, taken for the most part from the west of Scotland; disciples of Cameron, Renwick, and Peden, and professing, in the wildest and most gloomy sense, the austere principles of their party." †

The ministers petition against Prelacy and Service-Book.

To such men "Prelacy and the Service-Book" were utter abominations, and accordingly immediately on the King's return, they petitioned against their re-establishment, and desired the continuance of the Directory.‡ This petition was signed by about sixty ministers, and brought to London by Messrs. Kays and Richardson, who were instructed to endeavour to obtain the assistance of the London ministers to procure its acceptance.§ "The address was well penned," writes Mr. Sharp, "and contains nothing that can give offence, *unless* the Episcopalians except against the designing the King to be our covenanted King, and engaged against error and schism, popery and prelacy," &c.‖

Meantime the Church divines were not idle, but

* Carte's *Life of Ormond*, ii., 207.
† Heber's *Life of Taylor*, p. 100.
‡ Carte's *Ormond*, ii., 207.
§ Wodrow's *Church History*, i., 52.
‖ Sharp to Douglas (Wodrow).

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Church divines petition.

petitioned the King for the restoration of their ancient state, and the members of the late Parliament which had met, as in England, in a convention, preferred the same prayer.* By the side of Charles, and in the highest favour, was the Marquis of Ormond, ever a fast friend of the Irish Church, and the hopes of the Presbyterians were soon overthrown. In the beginning of August, bishops were nominated to the vacant sees, and it was clearly shown that the Church polity still authorized by law would be upheld.

The sees filled up.

Eight bishops had survived the troubles, and there were now vacant the four archbishoprics, and eleven other sees. All these were filled up with the exception of Kildare, which had been quite stripped of its revenues,† and by two translations and fourteen new consecrations, the Church in Ireland was again provided with governors.

Bramhall Primate.

Of the eight surviving bishops, there could not be a question as to who was best entitled to the primacy. Bramhall had been the leading churchman in Ireland before the Rebellion, he had suffered long and with unimpeached integrity, and in her greatest troubles had manfully defended the Church by his learned and eloquent writings. He was a man of a hot temper, but of great talents for business, sagacity, zeal, and earnestness; and a fitter man could scarcely have been found for the primacy. A better divine than Sharp, and a

* Wodrow, i. 50. Carte, ii., 207.

† Mant, i., 613. This see was filled up a short time afterwards.

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better bishop than Sheldon, he administered the affairs of the Church during his short primacy, to the satisfaction of all good churchmen, and perhaps it is to his Christian prudence that the Irish Church owes the honourable distinction of having refrained from persecution in the hour of its triumph. "At his coming to the primacy, the bishop knew," says his eloquent panegyrist, "that he should at first espy little besides the ruin of discipline, a harvest of thorns, and heresies prevailing in the hearts of the people, the churches possessed by wolves and intruders, men's hearts greatly estranged from true religion; and therefore he set himself to weed the fields of the Church; he treated the adversaries sometimes sweetly, sometimes he confuted them learnedly, sometimes he rebuked them sharply. He visited his charges diligently and in his own person, and designed nothing that we knew of, but the redintegration of religion, the honour of God and the King, the restoring of collapsed discipline, and the renovation of faith and of the service of God in the churches."*

Revenues of Irish clergy improved.

The long-standing grievance of the Irish Church had been the extreme poverty of its clergy, but a considerable help was now granted to their resources by the act of the King at the advice of the Marquis of Ormond. All impropriations which had escheated to the King during the Rebellion, were now granted to the ministers of the parishes, and all forfeited lands which had been exempt from

* Bishop Taylor's *Sermon at Funeral of Lord Primate.*

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tithes were made chargeable with them.* Lord Ormond also set himself to procure a union of small parishes, a grant of glebes where none existed, and the establishment of a free school in every diocese.† The measures too which Strafford had carried in favour of the Church, in spite of a vigorous attempt to overthrow them, were revived and confirmed.‡ In this respect, therefore, some improvement was effected at the Restoration.§

Obstacles of the Irish Church greater than ever.

But in the other points which retarded the growth of the Anglican Church in Ireland, the difficulties were as great, or even greater than ever. The cruelties and massacres of the Irish Insurrection, and the stern vengeance which was inflicted in consequence of it, had embittered more than before the Romanist against the Protestant, and made the hope of recommending the Reformed Church to the bigoted disciples of the old superstition still more empty.

The *Dissuasive of Popery.*

It was in vain that the greatest of our theologians composed the most able of his treatises as a *Dissuasive from Popery*. No appeals from the English side, or in the English language, could reach those whose ignorance was complete, and whose prejudices were insuperable. Bishop Taylor's picture of their condition is indeed a melancholy

* Carte's *Ormond*, ii., 204.

† Carte's *Ormond*, ii., 211. Bramhall introduced two measures, one to make the tithing table of Ulster the rule for the kingdom, and the other to enable bishops to lease for sixty years. The wisdom of both these measures seems questionable. He was defeated in both.—Vesey's *Life of Bramhall.*

‡ Carte's *Ormond*, ii., 210.

§ See Bramhall's Letters prefixed to his *Works*. Oxford, 1842.

one. "We have observed amongst the generality of the Irish such a declension of Christianity, so great credulity to believe every superstitious story, such confidence in vanity, such groundless pertinacity, such vicious lives, so little sense of true religion and the fear of God, so much care to obey the priests, and so little to obey God; such intolerable ignorance, such fond oaths and manner of swearing—swearing by their fathers' soul, by their gossips' hand.....leaving pins and ribbons, yarn or thread in their holy wells; praying to God, St. Mary and St. Patrick, St. Columbanus and St. Bridget, and desiring to be buried with St. Francis's cord about them, and to fast on Saturdays in honour of Our Lady."* These extravagances were not, however, to be remedied by learned treatises, such as the *Dissuasive from Popery*, but only, if at all, by approaching the ignorant peasantry in the way of which Bedell had set an illustrious example, giving them the Scriptures in their own language, and disarming their prejudice against an English religion. That so few hearty attempts have been made to do this until quite modern times, may be reckoned with justice a reproach to the Church in Ireland.†

The clergy of Down and Connor.

But besides the Romanist, there were, on the other side, the Presbyterian and Independent as hostile to the Anglican Church as the disciples of the Roman faith, and supported by a large number of lay-proprietors of the soil, disbanded officers of

* Preface to *Dissuasive from Popery*. Taylor's *Works*, vi., 175.

† See Heber's *Life of Taylor*, pp. 115, 116.

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Cromwell's army, and others who had received grants of land during the troubles. Nothing could be more bitter than the feeling with which the Presbyterian ministers in the diocese of Down received their illustrious bishop, Jeremy Taylor; and in proportion as he displayed an unwearied activity, and a power of preaching which cast all their puny efforts into the shade, their animosity increased. They refused utterly to meet or confer with him, and took up a position of determined enmity.*

Reordinations.

There was nothing to be done with such men as these, save to remove them from the Church whose laws they refused to recognise, upon the principle that every Christian community has a right to protect itself from enemies within its own body. The Irish bishops proceeded under the old Act of Uniformity of Queen Elizabeth, no new act being passed for Ireland until six years after the Restoration. The Presbyterian ministers were not required to express assent and consent, or to take any new oaths as in England, but they were required to exhibit episcopal letters of orders as a condition of holding their benefices, and where these were wanting to apply to the bishop for ordination. In conferring this, the Primate carefully guarded himself against pronouncing absolutely on the validity of Presbyterian orders, much less did he undertake, as some divines were forward to do, to unchurch all the foreign Protestant communities; but he simply required episcopal ordi-

* Carte's *Ormond*, ii., 208.

nation as a necessary qualification for holding preferment in an episcopal Church. This course was taken on no latitudinarian grounds, as every one who is acquainted with the character and writings of Bramhall will readily admit, but on the ground of Christian prudence and sound judgment. "By this means," says his biographer, "he gained such as were learned and sober, and for the rest it was not much matter." *

Deprivations.

About fifty-nine ministers, of whom thirty-eight were in Bishop Taylor's diocese of Down and Connor, refused the legal ordination and were deprived of their benefices.† Meantime, the Church was vigorously supported by the Parliament, which published a Declaration ordering all to conform to the liturgy, and commanded the Covenant to be publicly burnt by the hangman in every town in the country.‡ It is impossible to fine and punish a whole population, and hence the penal statutes to compel attendance at the Church service could never be enforced in Ireland; yet

Penal statutes never enforced in Ireland.

* Vesey's *Life of Bramhall*. The following is quoted by Bishop Vesey, as having been inserted in the letters of orders of a minister ordained under these circumstances: "Non annihilantes priores ordines (si quos habuit) nec validitatem aut invaliditatem eorum determinantes, multo minus omnes ordines sacros ecclesiarum forensicarum condemnantes quos proprio judici relinquimus; sed solummodo supplentes quidquid prius defuit per canones Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ requisitum; et providentes paci ecclesiæ ut schismatis tollatur occasio, et conscientiis fidelium satisfiat, nec ullo modo dubitent de ejus ordinatione, aut actus suos Presbyteriales tanquam invalidos aversentur; in cujus rei testimonium," &c. In a man who had been so hotly engaged in controversies as Bramhall, this moderation is truly admirable.

† Mant, i., 627.

‡ *Ibid.*, i., 633

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symptoms of a Presbyterian plot soon showed themselves, which the skill and energy of the Duke of Ormond, now presiding at Dublin as Lord-Lieutenant, were employed in checking.

Irish Act of Uniformity.

In 1666 an Act of Uniformity, similar to the English act of 1662, was passed by the Irish Parliament, and ministers were now obliged to declare assent and consent to the liturgy; to make the Declaration against resisting the King, against endeavouring the alteration of the government in Church and State, and against the Solemn League and Covenant.*

More deprivations under this act.

Under this law a considerable number of Presbyterian ministers, and some even of those who had received Episcopal orders, but were not willing to accept the conditions of the new law, were deprived. Bishop Taylor, brought into contact

* It seems difficult to account for the delay in passing the Irish Act of Uniformity. It would appear from a MS. of Archbishop King, preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, that the Irish Convocation, on August 26, 1662, referred it to certain archbishops and bishops to read through the new English liturgy, and to report to the House upon it. September 2.—The bishops report that they have read it, and find it little different from that hitherto in use, and recommend it to be used in the Irish Church. September 18.—The lower House agree, and request that a new office for October 23 (breaking out of Rebellion) may be added. November 11.—The two Houses agreed that the new English liturgy should be enforced by law in Ireland, and that the Archbishop of Armagh should be asked to induce the Duke of Ormond and the Privy Council to transmit to his Majesty a draught of an act of Parliament for that purpose; and that a new service for October 23, and a prayer for Lord-Lieutenant, should be added to the liturgy. For some reason or other, the Act of Parliament was not passed for upwards of three years after this. I am indebted for these details to the kindness of Dr. Salmon, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin.

with some of the most factious among them, and seeing the utter impracticability of the men, was inclined to recommend coercive measures to drive them to obedience; and in his sermon before Parliament certainly gave utterance to sentiments not altogether consistent with those to be found in his *Liberty of Prophesying*.* "The superior," says the bishop, "is tied by the laws of Christian charity, so far to bend in the ministration of the laws as to pity the invincible ignorance and weakness of his abused people. *But this is to last no longer than till the ignorance can be cured*, and the man be taught his duty; for whatsoever comes after this looks so like obstinacy, that no laws in the world judge it to be anything else." †

Nonconformists saved from persecution.

It is to be hoped, indeed, that in spite of these somewhat angry sentiments, Bishop Taylor would not have been led to sanction measures of persecution, but happily the circumstances of the country made such a course impracticable. Penal statutes might be passed, but their execution was obliged to be suspended, otherwise, as Lord Orrery writes to the Duke of Ormond, "ten parts of eleven of the people will be dissatisfied;" ‡ and though the bishops were able to exclude from the ministry (as it

* This has been made a great ground of reproach to Taylor, by Neal, Orme, and others. Bishop Heber, in his *Life of Taylor*, endeavours to reconcile his later with his earlier views, but not altogether with success. Indeed, he quotes one passage in a sense the opposite to that which Taylor wrote it. Compare Heber's *Life of Taylor*, p. 104, with Taylor's *Works*, viii., 339. (Edition 1851.)

† Taylor's *Works*, viii., 347.

‡ Mant, i., 637.

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was most fitting they should) all those who did not satisfy the terms of Conformity, yet with the Non-conformists once declared they were unable to deal severely.

Romish influence rises.

The great body of the Romish clergy in the country showed a hostile front, refusing, for the most part, to subscribe a declaration of their loyalty (called the Remonstrance), and exhibiting strong ultramontane views and tendencies. At the same time the Popish party at Court triumphed. The Duke of Ormond was forced to succumb to the same influences which wrought the ruin of his friend Lord Clarendon ; and in the appointment of Lord Berkeley to the Lieutenancy, and his refusal to support the Church or protect the moderate Romanist, was seen the development of the same policy which in Scotland produced the Assertory Act, and in England the attempt to dispense with the penal laws by virtue of the King's Prerogative.* Popery and Absolutism were the scarcely concealed objects of the King and the Duke of York. The Romish Archbishop, Plunket, was first courted and caressed,† and afterwards, when the no-Popery cry in England waxed strong, was basely sacrificed.

Measures of Ormond against the Romanists.

On the strength of that cry, Ormond returned to his vice-royalty after an absence of ten years, and then the strictest measures were enforced for banishing all the Romish regular clergy, for suppressing convents, seminaries, and schools, for dis-

* Carte's *Ormond*, ii., 356, 415, 420.
† Mant, i., 655. Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, ii., 143.

arming the Romanists, and for not even allowing mass to be said within the precincts of the principal cities. *

Mr. Boyle's efforts to spread the Scriptures in Irish.

Such a state of things was by no means favourable to the spreading of pure religion among the unhappy Romanists, yet there were at least some true hearts which were labouring wisely and earnestly to advance this great work. The honourable name of Robert Boyle again meets us here, and he who was zealous for the conversion of the Indian, the Malay, and the Turk, did not forget his own almost equally benighted countrymen. Bishop Bedell's translation of the Bible into Irish, was printed by him, and, together with the Church Catechism, in the same tongue, was sent over from England, in large numbers, to be distributed among the native Irish. † Unhappily, however, this good example was not generally followed. The clergy of the Anglican Church still used a service as unintelligible to the Celt as the mass, and not surrounded with the same awful reverence, and no Scriptural teacher addressed him in his own familiar tongue.

The use of the English language an obstacle.

It was only by slow degrees, indeed, that the ministrations of the Church could be restored even to those who valued and desired them. The long period of the troubles had convulsed and confused everything. Ruinous churches, and parishes without pastors, demanded all the energy of the bishops. One of them thus sadly writes:—"As God is

Ruined churches and scarcity of clergymen.

* Mant, i., 658. Lingard.
† Mant, i., 669. Burnet's *Life of Bedell*, p. 136.

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without churches for his people to meet in to serve him, so He is without servants enabled to do him service, to praise His name, and to teach His people; and to have churches and no churchmen is to no purpose. But why have we not such churchmen as are able to instruct God's people? I say that it is easily answered; that it is not so easy to get able, worthy, and sufficient churchmen, unless there were sufficient means and livings to maintain them."* The steps taken for improving the revenues of the Irish clergy had as yet borne but scanty fruit. The utter dilapidations of their houses must have exposed them to very great expenses. The revenues so urgently needed had to be exacted from a population which considered their payment as a sacrilege, and a bitter and dogged opposition obstructed at every point the progress of the Church in Ireland, while, in the midst of its hard and painful struggles, it was suddenly assailed by a new enemy.

Danger to the Church in Ireland from accession of James.

If the accession of James II. was a danger and a menace to the Reformed Church in England, it was more evidently and distinctly so to the sister Church in Ireland. In the one case the majority of the population, faithful to their Church, and of a spirit not easily to be daunted by tyranny, formed a powerful defence; in the other, a majority, alien

* Williams *Bishop of Ossory*, quoted by Mant, i., 664. Bishop Williams was somewhat of an enthusiast, and his statements are not, perhaps, to be implicitly relied upon. He wrote a very strange book, a folio volume, called *The Great Antichrist Revealed;* in which he endeavours to prove that the Westminster Assembly of Divines was the revelation of Antichrist.

in creed, language, and habits, added to the Scotch dislike of the Anglican Church the long-treasured animosities of civil oppression and the hostilities of race. The designs of the King for exalting his own religion would, it might be supposed, find but few obstacles in a country presenting the conditions of Ireland, and hence less disguise was thought necessary, and a more open and manifest favour was at once extended to the professors of the Romanist creed. The Duke of Ormond had spent a long and honoured life in combating the enemies of the throne and of the Church. It was thought that the throne could now stand without him, and as for the Church, its defence was no longer desired. He was therefore removed from the lord-lieutenancy, and the government entrusted to the Primate and Lord Granard as Lords Justices. The appointment of the chief minister of the Anglican Church, and of a nobleman whose interest lay chiefly amongst the Presbyterians of the north,* might be thought a sufficient evidence of care for Protestant interests, but it was soon seen to be otherwise. The Privy Council was filled with Papists; under the pretence of rebellious designs, the Lords Justices were obliged to imprison many Protestants of influence, and the King wrote to them directing them to disarm the militia. Colonel Talbot was sent over to take the command of the regular army, and he proceeded at once to remodel the whole force, dismissing all Protestant officers and soldiers, and filling their places with Romanists.

* Kennett's *Complete History*, iii., 449.

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Many English gentlemen had purchased commissions in the Irish army. These were all at once removed, and it is said that as many as five thousand soldiers were suddenly turned adrift in the midst of winter. *

Lieutenancy of Lord Clarendon.

Such violent proceedings were not reassuring to the Protestants, but it was some slight alleviation of their fears to hear that the Earl of Clarendon, the King's brother-in-law, an able and upright man, and a staunch friend of the Church of England, had been appointed to the office of Lord Lieutenant. A very full correspondence of this nobleman, while he occupied that high dignity, has been preserved. It is evident enough from this, that Lord Clarendon was merely put into the Lieutenancy to make use of his name and character for the work of overthrowing the Anglican Church, and the supremacy of the law, with greater ease and security. He was to be made the instrument for muzzling the Protestant clergy. "I have heard," writes the King to him, "that some of the Church of England clergy where you are have been as indiscreet as others of them have been in London, and have meddled with controversy more than was necessary or expedient, inveighing very much against Popery. This must not be suffered." † The Lord-Lieutenant was allowed to recommend men to vacant bishoprics, but the King had no intention of attending to his nominations. The

* Kennett, iii., 451. *Clarendon Correspondence*, i., 422, 423, &c. *Life of James II.*, ii., 60, 61.

† *Clarendon Correspondence*, i., 258.

bishoprics were to be kept vacant until they could be conveniently filled with Romanists. Lord Clarendon writes to his brother, Lord Rochester, "The not filling the bishoprics does more amaze people than anything else.....The priests do report that the King has sent to the Pope about filling the See of Cashel; you may easily imagine whether such stories will not raise apprehension in men's minds." * On the other hand, the Romanist prelates are strongly recommended to the Lord-Lieutenant "for patronage and protection upon all occasions wherein they shall apply, or may stand in need thereof." †

He is removed.

Lord Clarendon was by no means inclined to be over-scrupulous. He saw clearly enough what was intended, but he was willing to continue in his office, though constantly subjected to mortifications by the King's more trusted agents, endeavouring to discharge the duties of it as fairly as he could. But the time was now come when James thought he might discard all half measures, and make a more open and direct attack upon religion and law. Lord Clarendon was recalled, and Colonel Talbot, created Earl of Tirconnell, was sent over as Lord-Lieutenant to destroy Protestantism, while Sir Alexander Fitton, a man who had been convicted of felony, and of infamous character, was made Lord Chancellor to override the law.‡ Lord Clarendon left office with a speech highly laudatory

* *Clarendon Correspondence*, i., 312. † *Ibid.*, i., 313.

‡ *Clarendon Correspondence*, ii., 143, 151. Archbishop King's *State of the Protestants in Ireland.* Evelyn's *Diary.*

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of the Church of England, and Lord Tirconnell, in reply, declared that all men should "enjoy the exercise of their religion and properties according to law." But his words could not allay the apprehensions which prevailed. Men were everywhere realizing their property, and hastening to quit the kingdom. The bishops were talking of flight.* Insecurity universally prevailed, for what trust could there be in the maintenance of any good thing under the rule of the corrupt instruments of a bigoted and treacherous despot?

Tirconnell's open attacks upon the Church.

The clergy in Ireland had not been behind their English brethren in supporting the title of James to the throne, and in contending against the Exclusionists. "They had pressed this point so far, that many of their people were dissatisfied with them, and told them often with heat and concern, what reward they must expect for their pains, if ever he came to the throne."† They were now to experience the gratitude of the man whom they had served. Lord Tirconnell acted in pursuance of his instructions to overthrow the Anglican Church, without hesitation and without disguise. There was indeed little need of scrupulousness, when for the aggrieved parties there was no remedy at law, and the army, now turned into a Popish force, was ready at a moment's notice to act against the Protestants. Schoolmasters of the Church of England were now forced to give way to Romanists. Trinity College was attacked, and for its opposition

* Kennett, iii., 451. *Clarendon Correspondence*, ii., 147.

† King's *State of the Protestants in Ireland*, p. 215 (3rd ed.)

to the admission of a Popish fellow, subjected to a complete spoliation. The Provost, fellows, and scholars were turned out, the furniture, books, and plate of the college seized, the building turned into a garrison, the chapel into a magazine, and the students' rooms into prisons.* Not only the bishoprics, but the inferior livings also in the patronage of the Crown were not filled up, the incomes being seized upon by the Commissioners of the Revenue, and measures were at once taken to suppress the maintenance of the whole of the Anglican clergy in Ireland. A great part of that poor and slender maintenance arose from the fees or *book-monies* charged for burials, marriages, or Easter offerings. The judges were now instructed to declare that these were illegal, and they ceased to be paid. This was preparatory to the taking away from Anglican incumbents of tithes paid by Romanists, while to Romanist intruders all tithes were made payable.† But before this formal spoliation, while as yet James was not menaced, and his subjects were scrupulously loyal, an almost general robbery of tithes from the rightful possessors had taken place. The Romish priest had the law courts and the army at his disposal, and whenever he chose violently to invade the rights of the Anglican incumbent, to occupy his glebe, to seize upon the tithes by force, he could do so with perfect impunity. "From the year 1686," says Archbishop King, "till King James's power was put to an end,

* King's *State of the Protestants in Ireland*, p. 219 (3rd ed.)

† King, p. 223.

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hardly any Protestant enjoyed any tithes in the country."* It was not necessary to publish a Declaration for liberty of conscience in Ireland. A more compendious way was at once to take away the jurisdiction of the Established Church, and its power of censuring Dissenters. The Anglican incumbents were as yet tolerated in the use of the churches, which for the most part had been built by their own care and cost, after the ruins of the Rebellion, but rude mobs were encouraged to break into and desecrate them, and when the Revolution was in progress, they were generally seized by the Romanists.† Meanwhile the most eager and violent efforts were made to procure converts, and the Anglican clergy, both bishops and priests, were subjected to grievous personal outrages, their houses plundered and set on fire, and assaults made on themselves, sometimes ending in death. For these things there was no redress, and their parishioners besought their pastors to seek safety in flight, such perils were there on every side.‡

The beginnings of all these persecutions were experienced almost from the accession of James, and they were in full progress from the arrival of the Earl of Tirconnel as Lord-Lieutenant. It was not, however, until the landing of the Prince of Orange in England that their utmost intensity was felt. The strife then became internecine between Protestant and Papist, and, in the Act of Attainder passed by the Parliament, no fewer than two arch-

* *State of the Protestants*, &c., p. 226. † King, p. 236, sq.
‡ King, p. 245.

bishops, seven bishops, and eighty-three clergymen, besides a number of nobility and landed gentry, amounting to two thousand four hundred, were proscribed, and declared guilty of death for high treason. *

How the Anglican Church in Ireland was preserved in the perils which then surrounded it, and how it emerged into greater security afterwards, to be tried, however, with dangers of another sort, and a still more deadly nature, will be shown in a future chapter.

* Appendix to King's *State of the Protestants*. Kennett, iii., 475.

# CHAPTER XXXIII.

## GREAT WRITERS.

Chap. XXXIII.

Influence of Dr. Hammond—His writings—*Practical Catechism*—*Paræsis*—Controversial writings—Defects and merits—Exegetical writings—His zeal and devotion—Robert Sanderson—Excellence of his style—Change of his views on Predestination—His sermons—Jeremy Taylor—His vast learning—His eloquence—His devotional feeling—*The Liberty of Prophesying*—*Treatise on Repentance*—*Ductor Dubitantium*—Works in defence of Episcopacy and Liturgy—*Dissuasive from Popery*—Isaac Barrow—Robert South—Herbert Thorndike—Peter Gunning—John Pearson—George Bull—The *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ*—*Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*—*Harmonia Apostolica*—Ralph Cudworth—Richard Cumberland—Calvinism in disrepute—John Owen—His *Commentary on the Hebrews*—Prolixity of practical writers of the time—Sensational divinity—Richard Baxter as a devotional writer.

Influence of Dr. Hammond.



ITH the exception, perhaps, of Sanderson, Henry Hammond occupied the foremost place as a divine in the estimation of members of the Church of England during the Rebellion era. This was due, doubtless, in part to the amiable character of the man. Other men were as learned, others as loyal, but few were to be found so entirely devoted to good deeds, so completely at the service

of every one in distress, so utterly without thought or care of self. Whether or not Henry Hammond deserves to be ranked among the greatest writers of the Church of England, few will be disposed to deny him the character of one of her holiest sons. Even Richard Baxter, who, theologically, was as much opposed to Dr. Hammond as well might be, and who is not disposed to be over-tender towards opponents, speaks of him almost with enthusiasm, and emphatically declares that the Church of England suffered a great loss in his untimely death. Who is there that is not familiar with those touching lines of one who, in modern days, has shown us a copy of Hammond's character :—

> And he whose mild persuasive voice
> Taught us in trials to rejoice;
> Most like a faithful dove,
> That by some ruin'd homestead builds,
> And pours to the forsaken fields
> His wonted lay of love. *

Yet Hammond was not only loved and reverenced as a man, but admired as a writer. To theological writing, practical, controversial, and exegetical, he devoted the chief labour of his life, and, in some respects, his voluminous works form an epoch in the history of English theology.

His writings.

In practical writing, his greatest work is the *Practical Catechism*, a work not so well known now as formerly, when it ran through a vast number of editions, † and was solemnly recommended by the

* Keble's *Christian Year. Hymn for Restoration.*

† See Preface to the Oxford edition of 1847.

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dying King Charles to his children. After the *Practical Catechism*, we may, perhaps, place the *Paræsis*, which is a treatise partly practical and partly controversial, written, as his biographer tells us, "with many throes and pangs of birth, as having been penned first in tears, and then in ink." Its occasion was the tyrannical edict of 1655, which interdicted the loyal clergy from all employment and use of their function, and it contains an argument to show that trials and persecutions are no proof that God had ceased to own the Church of England, but only of the sinfulness of some of its members, with a view to which exhortations, prayers, and meditations are given.

*Practical Catechism. Paræsis.*

Among the other practical treatises of this divine are many short ones, which would have been cast into the form of sermons in ordinary times, but the times not admitting this, were given forth for the instruction of the Church from his asylum at Westwood, in the house of Sir John Pakington.* Hammond was an exceedingly rapid writer (far too rapid, indeed, for attaining a high perfection either of style or treatment); his *Considerations concerning Episcopacy* was the work of one evening, and his tract on *Scandal*, which occupies fourteen closely-printed folio pages, was not begun till eleven o'clock at night, and finished before going to bed.

Controversial writings.

His treatise on *Schism* is, perhaps, the most considerable of his controversial writings; it was occasioned by what he heard and himself observed of the activity and success of the Romish prose-

* See Fell's *Life* in Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 339, sq.

lytizers during the time of the troubles. Compared with Bramhall's work on the same subject, and about the same date, it appears deficient in point and vigour, although the argument is elaborately conducted, and all the necessary topics exhaustively handled. A treatise, of considerable length and solidity, was directed by Hammond against the new Directory, and in favour of the ancient liturgy, which says all that the most devoted churchman would desire to have said in defence of the Book of Common Prayer, and is, perhaps, the best written of all his controversial writings. These embraced almost all the chief points of Christian doctrine then endangered by the extravagances of belief prevalent in the country, and he was "in debt to his importunate antagonists," says his biographer, "for nothing but their railing, leaving that the only thing unanswered."

Defects and merits.

In all Hammond's treatises, both practical and controversial, there is somewhat of a defect in method, due, apparently, to the great haste in which they were written, as some pressing call seemed to arise, and the style is unfortunately cumbrous and disfigured by innumerable parentheses. But he shows fervid eloquence and vast learning, being wonderfully versed in the patristic writings; and in his practical discourses he has the great merit of convincing the reader that he is thoroughly in earnest and heartily feels what he writes.

Exegetical writings.

His most distinctive writings are, however, those of an exegetical order, and it is in these that Mr.

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Hallam pronounces that he created an epoch in Scripture interpretation, and turned the tide of it his own way.* Up to his time English divines had been, for the most part, satisfied to take their exegesis from the writings of the foreign Reformers or the earlier fathers, and to accept often a conventional and mystical sense of passages without sufficiently considering the particular meaning which the writer designed to convey to those whom he actually addressed. The great work which Hammond laboured to perform was to exhibit and illustrate this direct and primary meaning. He had studied the customs of the Jews and of the early heretics of the Christian Church, and of the Greeks, especially in their great games. He had given great attention to the Hellenistical dialect, and collated with much care all the accessible MSS. of the New Testament.† Thus furnished, he addressed himself to a careful critical examination of the sacred writings, and to a laborious attempt to ascertain and set forth all the allusions to contemporary customs which they contain. Together with annotations of great learning, he also wrote a paraphrase of the whole Testament, which is often of high value. That Hammond in many of his explanations is fanciful, and that he sees allusions to heresies where they are extremely difficult to be traced (the Gnostics being his constant enemies) is doubtless true. But as an early and learned contributor towards the great work of a thorough and

* Hallam's *Literature of Europe*, iii., 277.
† Fell's *Life*, Wordsworth, iv., 337.

honest criticism of the Scriptures—a branch of study which in modern times has received so great a development—he is entitled to high praise.

His zeal and devotion.

Henry Hammond devoted himself to his learned studies and Christian labours with a zeal and assiduity perhaps never surpassed, and he was equally earnest in his devotions. Of him, indeed, it was emphatically said that "he studied most upon his knees." At the early age of fifty-five he was cut off by a complication of maladies brought on by his severe studies. Had he lived a few years longer, he would, in all probability, have reached the Primacy, and no man assuredly was more suited to succeed the peace-loving Juxon. Perhaps, under him, the restored Church might have inaugurated her re-establishment differently, and the reproach of those harsh measures, favoured by the secular churchmanship of Sheldon, might have been saved us.

Robert Sanderson.

In a former sketch of their earlier life, Hammond and Sanderson were joined together, and they naturally fall together in a review of their writings. Sanderson was indeed many years the senior of Hammond, though he survived him three years, but between them there existed a fast Christian friendship, and there is much of similarity in the cast of their minds and the tone of their writings.

Excellence of his style.

In style, indeed, there is no comparison: Robert Sanderson having attained as nearly as possible the perfection of an English theological style, as his handiwork in the Book of Common Prayer abundantly proves. Neither in the theological views of

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Change of his views on Predestination, &c.

these two eminent men is there an exact similarity. Hammond was, as we should describe him now, of a more High Church School than Sanderson. In their intercourse and discussions of matters of Christian doctrine, Sanderson had been led by his friend to a considerable change of views on the doctrines of Predestination and Election—a change which he first expressed in a letter to Dr. Thomas Pierce, and which was afterwards set forth to the world by Dr. Hammond in a book called *A Pacific Discourse of God's grace and decrees*, &c. In the beginning of this treatise, Hammond speaks of the "sweet conversation which for some time we enjoyed without any allay or unequableness, unkind word, or jealous thought;" * and it is pleasant to think that two such men and such theologians, arrived at a complete accordance in these difficult and abstruse points. It is a complaint against some divines that their writings are over-voluminous, but it is otherwise in the case of Sanderson. A small number of sermons, some Latin prelections delivered at Oxford as Regius Professor, the resolutions of some difficult cases of conscience in English, and a discourse on Episcopacy, are almost all the works which we possess of this profound thinker and lucid writer.†

* Sanderson's *Works*, v., 293. Ed., Jacobson. The letter of Dr. Pierce will be found in vol. vi.

† In the letters of Hammond to Sheldon, preserved in the Harleian MSS., we find frequent complaints of Sanderson for not writing more. "Dr. Sanderson," writes Hammond, "is wont to say that he is a good drudge, and can do anything willingly but compose."

Too much praise can hardly be given to the admirable sermons which he has left to the Church. For an exhaustive handling and deep probing of the subject, for solving difficulties with wonderful clearness, for gravity, earnestness, and power, they can scarcely be surpassed. The sermons of Sanderson may be said to occupy a middle place between the discourses of Andrewes and Barrow: * to be as full of matter as those of the former, without his disfiguring eccentricities; and almost to equal in power those of the latter, with less dryness of method and greater beauty of language. They do not reach the incomparable eloquence of Jeremy Taylor, but they are superior to him in plain lucid statement and logical sequence. As a casuist or decider of difficult cases of conscience, Sanderson is unrivalled amongst English divines, and his happy power of catching the important point of a case, and bringing it out by a few telling sentences, is highly admirable. King Charles I., who loved casuistical divinity, valued Sanderson above all his chaplains, and even translated his Prelection, *De Juramenti Obligatione*, with his own hand.† In spite of the modesty and humility of his character, which were very marked, the reputation of Dr. Sanderson was extremely high among his contemporaries, and the voice of the Church has ever since confirmed their judgment.

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His sermons.

From Sanderson, who greatly improved English divinity, we pass to Jeremy Taylor, who brought it

Jeremy Taylor.

* Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, p. 21.

† See Dr. Jacobson's Preface to Sanderson's *Works*, p. 11.

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to its highest perfection. It is difficult, indeed, to speak in adequate terms of the writings of this great man. Not only is he, by almost universal consent, the foremost of English divines, but he is almost the foremost of English writers; and it would be hard to bring any name, even from the Church of Massillon, Bossuet, and Pascal, which could eclipse his. The chief defect that the keenest criticism can detect in him is that he was too learned,* and poured forth, with too redundant and overwhelming a torrent, the vast stores of his varied erudition. Indeed, this excessive and extraordinary copiousness could not fail to involve him in some errors and contradictions, but such trifling inaccuracies are scarce a stain upon the clear brilliancy of his mighty genius.

His vast learning.

His eloquence.

Taylor had especially that in which English divinity has been generally deficient—a mighty and thrilling eloquence. His sermons, like those of the great French divines, are not dry treatises or mere exhibitions of pedantic learning, but copious and heart-stirring orations. "An imagination essentially poetical," says Mr. Hallam, "and sparing none of the decorations which by critical rules are deemed almost peculiar to verse; a warm tone of piety, sweetness, and charity; an accumulation of circumstantial accessories whenever he reasons, or persuades, or describes; an erudition, pouring itself forth in quotation, till his sermons become, in some places, almost a garland of flowers from all other writers, and especially from those of classical

* Hallam's *Literature of Europe*, iii., 269.

antiquity, never before so redundantly scattered from the pulpit, distinguish Taylor from his contemporaries by their degree, as they do from most of his successors by their kind." *

His devotional feeling.

But Jeremy Taylor was no mere splendid orator or brilliant declaimer; the eloquence to which he gave utterance was essentially holy and devout. "It is on devotional and moral subjects," says Bishop Heber, "that the peculiar character of his mind is most, and most successfully, developed. To this service he devotes his most glowing language, to this his aptest illustrations; his thoughts and his words at once burst into a flame when touched by the coals of this altar; and whether he describes the duties, or dangers, or hopes of man, or the mercy, power, and justice of the Most High; whether he exhorts or instructs his brethren, or offers up his supplications in their behalf to the common Father of all, his conceptions and expressions belong to the loftiest and most sacred description of poetry, of which they only want, what they cannot be said to need, the name and metrical arrangement." †

Of the works of a writer so prolific and voluminous, who has touched and exhausted almost every topic of theology, it would be idle in this place to attempt a detailed criticism, especially as an admirable one is to be found in his *Life*, by Bishop Heber. Only a few of his works will be selected for notice, and those partly on historical grounds,

* Hallam's *Literature of Europe*, ii., 359.
† Heber's *Life of Taylor*, p. 249.

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leaving those which are perhaps his greatest works, the purely devotional ones, such as *The Great Exemplar*, *Holy Living* and *Dying*, untouched.

*The Liberty of Prophesying.*

*The Liberty of Prophesying* has been before alluded to as appearing at a time when the Church was in her sorest affliction, and it is a treatise ever worthy of the highest encomium as being the first formal and direct assertion of the duty of toleration made by a member of the English Church. It is true that the principles and the arguments of Chillingworth and Hales led directly to this result, but Taylor was the first openly to contend for it, and not to shrink from pushing his principles to their utmost legitimate conclusion. At the same moment that Milton, from an intense and morbid antipathy to assimilation with the creeds or thoughts of others, could see no resting-place save in a complete freedom of opinion, Taylor, from an opposite point of view, with his own opinions fixed on a Catholic basis, advocated the same conclusion.* *The Liberty of Prophesying* is indeed a wonderful treatise, and altogether in advance of the age; and slightly inconsistent with it though some of Taylor's later writings undoubtedly were, it is satisfactory to think that in his last great work, *The Dissuasive from Popery*, he shows himself clearly of the same mind as when, sixteen years before, he put forth his great argument for toleration.† "We have,"

* See Coleridge's parallel between Milton and Taylor (in which, by the way, he is not quite accurate), quoted in Taylor's *Works*, i., 330. (Edition 1851.)

† Hallam's *Literature of Europe*, iii., 268.

says he, "no other help in the midst of these distractions and disunions, but to be united in that common term, which as it does constitute the Church in its being such, so it is the medium of the communion of saints, and that is the creed of the Apostles; and in all other things an honest endeavour to find out what truths we can, and a charitable and mutual permission to others that disagree from us and our opinions. I am sure this may satisfy us, for it will secure us; but I know not anything else that will."* The Church itself may "extend its own creed," but "no such deduction is fit to be pressed on others as an article of faith,"† because Christ himself and his Apostles have only laid this foundation. Heresy, he says, is "not an error of the understanding but an error of the will," and, therefore, false doctrine is not censurable except where contumacious or immoral. There is no simple and infallible method of determining truth. Scripture is only clear in the necessary things; Tradition, General Councils, Popes, and Fathers are insufficient for concluding controversies. "Every man may be trusted to judge for

* Epistle Dedicatory to *Liberty of Prophesying.—Works*, v., 357. "I know it is said," says Richard Baxter, "that a man may subscribe the Scripture and the ancient creeds, and yet maintain Socinianism or other heresies. To which I answer, so he may another test which your own brains shall contrive; and while you make a snare to catch heretics, instead of a test for the Church's communion, you will miss your end, and the heretic, by the slipperiness of his conscience, will break through, and the tender Christian may possibly be ensnared."—Baxter's *Reformed Pastor*, chap. v.

† *Works*, v., 375.

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himself; I say every man that can judge at all." "No man's salvation is to depend upon another," and "simple error in opinion is innocent." * Hence penal measures on account of supposed error cannot be defended. The Church has power to excommunicate, but may not proceed beyond strictly spiritual censures. Laws of express toleration cannot well be made, but if there be cause for it "the laws must be cassated," † or dispensations granted for individual cases. This brings him to that part of his treatise which is, perhaps, in some points, the most admirable, but which contains also the great defect of the argument. He considers what sects may be fairly tolerated, and decides in favour (among others) of the Anabaptists and Romanists, who would be the ones likely to be most generally excepted against. But the very notion of deciding between the claims of various sects, and, in fact, the limitation of toleration in any way, save by the requirements of the guardianship of public morals, is really inconsistent with the spirit in which this treatise was composed. While Taylor, therefore, has certainly gone to an extreme in stating the difficulties of ascertaining truth, and has almost reached the position of a universal scepticism; he has not, on the other hand, gone far enough in the toleration of heterodoxy, because he could not dismiss from his mind the impression

* *Works*, v., 495-6, 511.

† *Works*, v., 539. It may strike us as strange that Taylor could not see his way to the law formally tolerating. Mr. Hallam considers this seventeenth chapter as inconsistent with the rest of the treatise.—*Literature of Europe*, iii., 357.

that the State was in some way responsible for the religions which it suffered to remain unmolested. *

*Treatise on Repentance.*

The *Liberty of Prophesying* was a protest against the Presbyterian intolerance which was then dominating the country, and the ultra-Calvinism which so absolutely incapacitated human nature, and dwelt to such an extreme on the doctrine of Original Sin, probably stirred up Taylor to compose his work on *Repentance*, and to put forward those bold doctrines on Original Sin, which have brought so much reproach on his divinity. These are to be found in the sixth chapter of the *Treatise*, in which he maintains that sin coming into the world by Adam, merely means that he was the first man who sinned, that his nature was essentially the same before the Fall as after it, and the same therefore as the nature of any other man. That his sin neither made men heirs of damnation, nor naturally and necessarily vicious,† and that "there is no corruption or depravation of our souls by Adam's sin." ‡ It certainly appears impossible to reconcile this doctrine with the Ninth Article of the

* "Taylor's difficulty arose from a misapprehension of the magistrate's power, whose office, as it is purely civil and secular, has not direct concern with the souls of men, and who is neither bound nor authorised to interfere between man and his Maker." —Heber's *Life of Taylor*. I cannot explain nor understand the strange mistake into which Bishop Heber has fallen in his criticism on this treatise, in supposing that Taylor meant his argument to apply to the conditions of admission to the ministry. See this point noted by Mr. Hallam, *Lit. Europe*, iii., 351. Taylor never quitted the strong Church point of view, and was by no means a Latitudinarian.

† Taylor's *Works*, vii., 252. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 263.

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Church of England, and hence the pain and sorrow with which this *Treatise* was received by Bishop Warner, Duppa, Sanderson, Sheldon, and other orthodox divines. The genius and eloquence of Taylor were exerted to vindicate himself in the opinions of those whom he so highly esteemed, but he can scarcely be said to have established the orthodoxy of his views.*

*Ductor Dubitantium.*

The years immediately preceding the Restoration, were devoted by Taylor (as has been already said) to the composition of his great work on casuistry, the *Ductor Dubitantium*. In this he is not, like Sanderson, merely a guide in certain difficult and obscure cases, but applies himself to first principles, and has composed a great metaphysical treatise upon conscience, illustrated by the application of a number of doubtful cases. It has, however, often been remarked, that this great director of the consciences of men has himself sanctioned an opinion to which scarcely any conscientious man would hold, namely, the legitimacy of using arguments, of the validity of which we are not satisfied, if by so doing we can silence a troublesome opponent. "Upon this account we may quote Scriptures to those senses which may well serve in a question, and in which they are used by learned men, though we suppose the principal intention to be of a different thing."† Probably no writers of casuistry are altogether free from the fault of pushing allowances to an extreme, as the

* See Heber's *Life of Taylor*, pp. 186, 196.
† Taylor's *Works*, ix., 95.

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nature of their work requires them to exhaust their subject. The *Ductor Dubitantium* appears, however, in other respects, to be not without its faults. It makes morality too much positive, and lays too little stress upon the eternity and immutability of right and wrong,* and though thought by Taylor himself to be the greatest of his works, it is probably the one which in our day is least read and least valued.

Works in defence of Episcopacy and liturgy.

Like most of the other great divines at that period, Taylor wrote vigorously in defence of Episcopacy and the liturgy. No man perhaps ever wrote more eloquently in praise of the Book of Common Prayer, and with a more complete confidence in its outliving and overcoming the attacks which then oppressed it. "It was sown in tears," he says, "and is now watered with tears, yet never was any holy thing drowned and extinguished with tears. Indeed, the greatest danger that ever the Common Prayer Book had, was the indifferency and indevotion of them that used it but as a common blessing. But when excellent things go away, and then look back upon us as our Saviour did upon St. Peter, we are more moved than by the nearer embraces of a full and actual possession." †

*Dissuasive from Popery.*

To Taylor's last great work, and the circumstances under which it was composed, some allusion has already been made, and it is on the ground occupied by this treatise—that, viz., of the con-

* Hallam's *Lit. Europe*, iii., 382.
† Taylor's *Works*, v., 254.

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troversy with Rome—that we are able most directly to compare this powerful writer with all the other theological giants of the Church of England—with Jewel and Field, and Andrewes and Crakanthorp, Chillingworth and Bramhall—as well as with Isaac Barrow and Stillingfleet, and the others who followed him. In comparison with these, Taylor will not be found to occupy the lowest room, and in some points to excel them all. There is probably no English writer so thoroughly master of the subject as this divine of portentous erudition. "He addresses the Romanists," says Bishop Heber, "with a perfect knowledge of their writers, their ecclesiastical history, their schoolmen, their traditions, and their prejudices; a perfect familiarity with both their strong and their weak grounds; a power and habit of appealing to their own writers, as his best and most frequent authorities, and a dexterity which has never been exceeded in opposing the contradictions of those writers to each other, laying bare their fallacies, and gently but not insolently exciting indignation against their corruptions, and a smile against their absurdities."* Bramhall or Barrow may be clearer in their statement of the argument, and Chillingworth may excel him in the dexterity of controversy, but "to shake the opinions of an intelligent Roman Catholic.....to point out the contradictions of a false religion without making all religion appear ridiculous,"† Taylor's work may be considered to stand alone.

* Heber's *Life of Taylor*, p. 204. † *Ibid.*

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Isaac Barrow.

In contrast, in many ways, to Jeremy Taylor stands the next great divine whose works have been selected for mention—Isaac Barrow. The diffuseness, eloquence, and splendour of Taylor are opposed to the exact, distinct, and somewhat severe style of Barrow. But if the treatment of a subject by Barrow be more complete, his errors fewer, his arguments more severely logical, the great charm and attractiveness with which the genius of Taylor invested the driest subjects, are wanting in him, and though Barrow may obtain the higher praise from the critics, Taylor will ever be the really greater favourite with all classes. If a sermon is to be estimated by its power of attracting, convincing, and stimulating its hearers more than by its intrinsical merits as a treatise upon the subject of the text, the much-admired sermons of Barrow must be ranked not alone below those of Taylor, but below those also of other divines of very inferior power. If, on the contrary, the excellence of sermons is to handle a text exhaustively, to draw conclusions from it with force and appropriateness, and to say all that a subject admits of, with clearness, vigour, and common sense, Barrow's sermons justly deserve the highest commendation. Each of them is almost a treatise in itself, and the *Sermons on the Creed* do, in fact, constitute a treatise on all the fundamentals of faith as complete as that of Pearson.* Dr. Barrow was as great a proficient in

* Some amusing anecdotes with regard to Isaac Barrow and his first appearance in a London pulpit, are to be found in Pope's *Life of Bishop Ward*. It appears that when he went to preach

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physical science and in Greek as in theological writing. "He was not so extensively learned as Taylor," says Mr. Hallam; "but inferior, perhaps, even in that respect to hardly any one else."* The virtue, moderation, and humility of the man endeared him to all who knew him, and he will ever stand in a front rank among the worthies of the English Church.

Robert South.

Of these, at this time, there was indeed no scanty number. At no other period did great writers and deep thinkers so abound. Taylor or Barrow alone would have sufficed to make an epoch famous, but Taylor and Barrow were but the foremost among numbers nearly equal to themselves. For popularity in sermons, South stands pre-eminent, no man being so much followed and so much valued by the wits. But the popularity of South was a vicious one, and though possessed of great genius and skill, he owed the favour with which he was regarded to his constant and somewhat scurrilous attacks on the fanatics and rebels. A man who was admired because he ventured upon a nearer approach to buffoonery in the pulpit than

for Dr. Wilkins, at St. Lawrence, Jewry, his appearance was so slovenly and strange, that all the congregation left the church, fancying some mad Puritan was going to hold forth. Baxter, however, who was one of the congregation, remained, and afterwards declared that Barrow preached so well, he could have sat all day to listen to him. An extreme carelessness of dress and neglect of cleanliness, seem to have been habitual to Barrow. The immense length of his sermons was a sore trial to the physical powers of his audience. When he preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen on the duty of Charity, he spoke for three hours and a half!—Pope's *Life of Ward*, pp. 139-148.

* Hallam, *Lit. Europe*, iii., 269.

others dared to do, can scarcely have a high reputation as a divine, whatever may belong to him as a clever, caustic, and witty writer.

Herbert Thorndike.

In contrast to the witty sententiousness of South stand the cumbrous, inelegant, but learned writings of Herbert Thorndike. Thorndike had borne a share in the great work of Walton, and his name appears as one of the Commissioners at the Savoy. His reputation stood high for a profound acquaintance with antiquity and the fathers, but the works in which he has embodied his learned researches are almost unreadable in the present day from their awkward method and unintelligible style. We pass by a host of writers of great merit; Gunning, the most learned in antiquity of all his age, who poured forth his stores of erudition in a disquisition on the Lent Fast; Pearson, the author of the famous treatise on the Creed, the most universally known work of English divinity—to arrive at one who is unrivalled in his own subject matter, and has conferred a lasting glory upon the English Church. The powers of Anglican controversialists have generally been expended either upon the all-absorbing quarrel with the Roman superstitions, or on the points of dispute between the upholders of Episcopacy and liturgy, and the Puritan and Presbyterian. A sphere of more universal usefulness was chosen for his labours by the learned presbyter George Bull, afterwards Bishop of St. David's, and in the year 1685 he gave to the Church an elaborate refutation of all the heresies on the subject of the Divinity of the Saviour, in his famous work

Peter Gunning.

John Pearson.

George Bull.

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The *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ.*

the *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ.* This treatise was so highly valued by the great Bossuet, that, at his recommendation, the bishops of France, in synod assembled, voted their thanks to its author for the service he had done to the Catholic Church;* a compliment, of which no other English divine can boast. It is fitting, therefore, that we should take a rapid glance at its contents. The scope and object of the work are declared by Bull, in his preface, to be "to show clearly what has been determined concerning the divinity of the Son against Arius and the other heretics by the fathers of Nicæa, and all the approved fathers and doctors of the Church from the time of the Apostles down to the synod of Nicæa." The work is divided into four main sections or chapters. The first of these proves that the Son existed before his Incarnation, and appeared to holy men of old. That He was present with God the Father before the foundation of the world, and that all things were made by Him. These points were not controverted by the Arians, against whom the Nicene Creed was enacted, but they are established by Bull as against the Socinians, who held that in no sense did Jesus Christ exist before he was born into the world of the Virgin Mary. In the second chapter, Bull arrives at the great task of the work which he had set himself. He undertakes to prove that He who existed before His Incarnation, the Son of God, "was ὁμοούσιος, with God the Father; that is, was not of any created or mutable essence, but of the

* Nelson's *Life of Bull.*

same nature altogether, divine and incommutable, with His Father, very God of very God." This, he affirms, was "the constant and concordant opinion of the Catholic doctors who flourished in the three first centuries." A very slight acquaintance with the Arian controversy is sufficient for the appreciation of the greatness of the task thus boldly undertaken, yet the admirable and exhaustive handling of the subject by Bull, in his volume devoted to this point, more than redeemed the promise with which he commenced. In the third chapter, he proceeds to prove that the *greater part* of the ante-Nicene doctors held not only that the Son was ὁμοούσιος of the same substance with the Father, but also that he was συναΐδιος, coeternal with the Father. In the fourth chapter, he considers the qualifications of these high doctrines. "The Nicene fathers taught," said the learned writer, "that the divine nature and perfections belong to the Father and Son not collaterally or co-ordinately, but subordinately, that is, that the Son had indeed in common with the Father, the same divine nature, but communicated by the Father in such a way that the Father has this nature of himself and from no other, but the Son from the Father; and so the Father is the fountain, origin, and principle of the Divine nature which there is in the Son." Secondly, he asserts that the fathers *unanimously* held that "God the Father, even in his Divine nature was greater than the Son, not by virtue of any nature or essential perfection which is in the Father and not in the Son, but

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solely by virtue of authority—that is, of origin—since the Son is from the Father, not the Father from the Son." Another section is devoted to exhibiting the value of the Catholic doctrine, and its bearing upon the whole scheme of Redemption.

The learning, skill, and accuracy of Bull's treatise are universally admitted even by those who are not inclined to allow that he has demonstrated the consensus of antiquity against the Arians. These will be found in two classes, and hence the *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ* is directed against two sets of opponents. The first includes all the doctrinal heretics who, under the name of Arians, semi-Arians, Sabellians, Macedonians, Socinians, or others, have, more or less, impugned the great doctrine of the Trinity. The second comprises those who, for the sake of establishing the necessity of the voice of the Infallible Church for determining doctrines, have sought, with a perverted ingenuity, to exaggerate the discrepancies of the early fathers that they might weaken their authority as a rule of faith. This had, just before Bull wrote, been attempted by Petavius, a learned Jesuit, and was generally the line of theology which the Jesuits affected; and it was for the powerful and convincing way in which the English divine met this insidious attack on ancient verities, that the thanks of the French clergy were specially tendered to him. The *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ* of Bull is a short supplementary treatise to the great defence of the creed. Its object is to show how well justified the early Church was in laying her ana-

*Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ.*

thema upon the holders of docrines so fundamentally pernicious as those which impugned the Divinity of the Saviour. Chap. XXXIII.

In his *Harmonia Apostolica*, and the larger treatise which was written in defence of it, Bull sets forth an argument on Justification, in opposition to the views held by the Calvinistic School, and in substance identical with those of Arminius and Episcopius. It is scarce possible to speak too highly of the learning and power, the logical accuracy and lucid arrangement of these treatises. They are certainly among the best which English divinity has produced. In addition to these, a considerable amount of sermons completes the legacy which this great divine has bequeathed to the Church. His sermons are full and clear, but they scarce rise into eloquence, and are not to be classed so high as those of Taylor and Barrow. *Harmonia Apostolica.*

The wonderful intellectuality of the period which followed the Restoration, produced leading writers on almost every subject. Thought seemed now to take, as it were, a new spring, and to shake off the fetters which had hitherto bound it. John Locke created a new philosophy, and in the domains of metaphysics and morals, in which his name is so famous, churchmen and divines divide the honour with the great author of the *Essay on the Human Understanding*. Richard Cumberland's treatise on the *Laws of Nature* was published in 1672, and six years after the *Intellectual System* of Dr. Ralph Cudworth first saw the light. Both these treatises are among the greatest works of Ralph Cudworth.

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English philosophy, but the former has been by far the more important in its results, having largely influenced all the writers on similar subjects who followed it. Cudworth's *Intellectual System* is directed against the atheistic theories of Hobbes, and seeks, by a vast and cumbrous exhibition of ancient learning, to disprove the doctrine of necessity, and to establish the existence of a Deity antecedently to Revelation. * Only the first book of this work (which occupies, however, a large folio volume) was published.

Richard Cumberland.

In Cumberland † we find a writer of greater power than Cudworth, and his treatise is especially remarkable as being the first which treats questions of morality without referring to the authority of Scripture, moral laws being based by him upon experience and observation of cause and effect. The one great fundamental moral law of nature Cumberland finds to be "the pursuit of the common good of all rational agents which tends to our own good as part of the whole." This includes devotion to God and all the moral virtues, and is a complete answer to Hobbes's theory, which asserted that the greatest good was the gratification of each individual appetite. "Cumberland," says Mr. Hallam, "may be deemed to make an epoch in the history of ethical philosophy, and if we compare his treatise with the *Ductor Dubitantium* of Taylor, written a very few years before, we shall find ourselves in a new world of moral reasoning. The

* Hallam's *Lit. Europe*, iii., 304, sq.

† Made Bishop of Peterborough in 1691.

schoolmen and fathers, the canonists and casuists, have vanished like ghosts at the first daylight: the continual appeal is to experience, and never to authority." *

Calvinism in disrepute.

With such great thinkers employed on all the most abstruse and absorbing subjects of human interest, with theology and philosophy linked hand in hand, and gaining triumphs together, it is not to be wondered at that the dogmatism of Calvin is now observed to disappear from our divinity, never again to resume the influence it once exercised over English theologians. Barrow and Bull, and South and Taylor, advocated Arminian principles on theological grounds; Cudworth, More, Wilkins, and the Latitudinarians, were opposed philosophically to the once-favoured teaching. Under the united attacks of so many great thinkers, the Calvinistic teaching disappears from the Church, and finds a refuge only among the Nonconformists. The *Institutions* of Episcopius were now the manual at our Universities,† as a few years before had been those of Calvin, and the foreign reformers generally were in much lower repute.

Of the Nonconformist writers it is impossible to speak here at sufficient length to do justice to the talents and learning which were conspicuous in many of them; but, in the very briefest survey of the theology of the period, it is unfitting to pass by the works of John Owen and Richard Baxter. Both of these great men have been frequently

* Hallam's *Lit. Europe*, iii., 390.
† Nelson's *Life of Bull.*

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alluded to in the course of the preceding narrative, for both occupied a most conspicuous position in the theological world of the seventeenth century.

John Owen.

Owen was, without question, the leading man of the Independent party, and justified the principles he professed by a moderation and fairness not always found in those who have the words of liberty in their mouths. His pen, like those of most of the other leading Nonconformists, was extraordinarily prolific; and his greatest work, the *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, though devoted to one book of Scripture alone, reached the enormous bulk of four folio volumes. In constructing this *Commentary*—the labour of twenty years—the Independent Doctor had principally in view the writings of the Polish Socinians, who had assailed, with great parade of learning, the doctrine of a sacrificial atonement, and probably no work in our language contains a more complete refutation of the Socinian heresy than this.

His *Commentary on the Hebrews.*

Prolixity of practical writers of the time.

Owen is far more to be admired as an expounder of Scripture than as a writer on practical and devotional subjects. His excellent biographer and reviewer freely confesses that he is chargeable with the faults of "prolixity, verbosity, and diffusion;" that he had a "disposition to weave an entire system into every work," and that he was utterly incapable to compress.* The same reflection applies, indeed, to Jeremy Taylor, and in a still greater degree to Richard Baxter, and was the one great fault of all the theology of the period.

* Orme's *Life of Owen*, p. 316.

"The writers of that period," says Mr. Orme, "seldom knew when to stop. They never supposed that they could exhaust a subject. They were dissatisfied till they had produced a folio or quarto, and had said everything that could be said on the point in hand." * When, indeed, this intolerable prolixity was not relieved by the bright flashes of genius (as with Taylor and Baxter), when it was merely a stringing together of vapid platitudes, senseless iterations, and irritating word-splittings, the peculiar taste of an age may tolerate, but the work is doomed for posterity. † Owen was, it is true, far superior to the mass of writers of his class, but his lengthiness defeats his own object; and, in his practical writings, "readers become fatigued and perplexed long before they arrive at the conclusion." ‡

Sensational divinity.

Whether indeed the attempt to analyse at enormous length all the feelings and sensations, thoughts, hopes and imaginings of the soul, so favourite a subject with the Nonconformist writers, has the devotional value which is claimed for it, may be a subject of doubt. A man of

* Orme's *Life of Owen*, p. 317.

† The attempt to galvanize into popularity the dreary folios of Goodwin, Nye, Martin, Bates, &c., now being made, will, we predict, prove a failure. The remarks of Mr. Orme are very apposite. He says that the writing of these long works "Did not require all the labour and genius that some may suppose. In fact, the bulk of the work was a saving of labour to them. They never thought of dressing or revising their thoughts. A whole chapter might often have been condensed into a paragraph, and retained all its sentiment, and a greater portion of spirit."—*Life of Owen*, p. 317.

‡ Orme's *Life of Owen*, u. s.

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thoughtful and cultivated mind may describe these sensations as observed in himself, but the record of his imaginings may be useless, and perhaps worse than useless to ordinary Christians. By attributing an undue value, or a universality which does not belong to them, to these experiences, others may either be brought up to a presumptuous confidence, or plunged into an unreasonable despair. There can scarcely be a question that this sensational or experimental divinity received its highest development from the genius of Richard Baxter, and in taking a rapid glance at the writings of this great man, it is upon this class of them that our attention will naturally be fixed. His works indeed are so numerous, as to form a library of themselves. "He wrote," says one of his biographers, "more than any of his brethren, and more of what he did write continues to be read."* This is a great praise, but not an undeserved one, for as long as the hopes and faith of Christianity are cherished, *The Call to the Unconverted*, and the *The Saints' Everlasting Rest*, will not be forgotten. The last of these treatises was the first which Baxter composed. It was written while he was quite a young man, when he had no books to assist him, nor learned stores of previous education to draw upon. It is one of the many instances of the highest point reached at one bound by the innate force of genius, for in the half century of literary labours which followed this, Baxter never produced anything to surpass it, if indeed he ever equalled it.

Richard Baxter as a devotional writer.

* Orme's *Life of Baxter*, ii., 8.

This treatise has been well described as "rich in Christian sentiment, wonderfully correct and pointed in style, and fertile in most beautiful illustrations."* The most considerable of Baxter's practical writings besides those named, is perhaps the treatise on *Self-Denial*, a subject on which he was well qualified to write, for no man ever lived a life of more devoted activity and unwearying labour, though he was subject through all its course to constant and most trying ailments. The fire and combativeness of his disposition indeed, which went far to nerve up his exhausted frame, constituted the principal defects of this extraordinary man, who though he laboured more for concord than any man of his time, was yet unable to agree entirely with anybody. We may regret that his energies were not loyally devoted to the Church of England, but we cannot reckon him as a Dissenter from that Church, as he cordially accepted all her doctrines, and continued even in the time of persecution to maintain lay communion with her.

Such were a few of the many great divines who flourished at this period, and if the Church of the Restoration was disfigured with some blots and blemishes by her complicity in the State persecutions of Dissenters, it yet cannot be denied that she was signally adorned by the power, learning, piety, and zeal of many of her sons.

* Orme's *Baxter*, ii., 405.

# *Appendix A.*

## A TABLE OF THE SUCCESSION OF ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS FROM 1640 TO 1685.

*From Le Neve's "Fasti."*

### CANTERBURY.



1. William Laud, beheaded January 10, 1645.
   (See vacant sixteen years.)
2. William Juxon (Bishop of London), confirmed September 20, 1660; died June 4, 1663.
3. Gilbert Sheldon (Bishop of London), confirmed August 31, 1663; died November 9, 1677.
4. William Sancroft, consecrated January 27, 1678.

### YORK.

1. John Williams (Bishop of Lincoln, succeeded Neile, December 4, 1641; died March 25, 1650.
2. Accepted Frewen (Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry), confirmed October 4, 1660; died March 28, 1664.
3. Richard Sterne (Bishop of Carlisle), confirmed June, 1664; died June 18, 1683.
4. John Dolben (Bishop of Rochester), confirmed August 16, 1683; died April 11, 1686.

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### London.

1. Gilbert Sheldon, succeeded Juxon, October 28, 1660; translated to Canterbury, August 31, 1663.
2. Humphrey Henchman (Bishop of Salisbury), confirmed September, 1663; died October, 1675.
3. Henry Compton (Bishop of Oxford), confirmed December 18, 1675; died July 7, 1713.

### Winchester.

Walter Curle, died 1647.
(See vacant thirteen years.)

1. Brian Duppa (Bishop of Salisbury), confirmed October 4, 1660; died March 26, 1662.
2. George Morley (Bishop of Worcester), confirmed May 14, 1662; died October 29, 1684.
3. Peter Mew (Bishop of Bath and Wells), confirmed November 22, 1684; died November 9, 1706.

### Durham.

Thomas Morton, died 1659.
(See vacant one year.)

1. John Cosin, consecrated December 2, 1660; died January 15, 1671.
2. Nathaniel Crew (Bishop of Oxford), confirmed October 22, 1674.

### St. Asaph.

John Owen, died 1651.
(See vacant nine years.)

1. George Griffith, consecrated October 28, 1660; died November 28, 1666.
2. Henry Glemham, consecrated October 13, 1667; died January 17, 1670.
3. Isaac Barrow (Bishop of the Isle of Man), confirmed March, 1670; died June 24, 1680.
4. William Lloyd, consecrated October 3, 1680; translated to Coventry and Lichfield, 1692.

### Bangor.

William Roberts, died 1665.

1. Robert Morgan, consecrated July 1, 1666; died September 1, 1673.
2. Humphrey Lloyd, consecrated November 16, 1673; died January 18, 1689.

### Bath and Wells.

William Pierce, died 1670.

1. Robert Creighton, consecrated June 19, 1670; died November 21, 1672.
2. Peter Mew, consecrated February 9, 1673; translated to Winchester, 1684.
3. Thomas Ken, consecrated January 25, 1685.

### Bristol.

Robert Skinner, translated to Oxford, 1641.

1. Thomas Westfield, consecrated 1641; died June, 1644.
1. Thomas Howell, consecrated July, 1644; died 1646. (Quære de Samuele Collins, 1651?—See Fuller's *Worthies*, p. 137.)
2. Gilbert Ironside, consecrated January 13, 1661; died September 19, 1671.
3. Guy Carleton, consecrated February 11, 1672; translated to Chichester, 1679.
4. William Gulston, consecrated February 9, 1679; died April 4, 1684.
5. John Lake (Bishop of Sodor and Man), confirmed August 12, 1684.
6. Jonathan Trelawney, Baronet, consecrated November 8, 1685; translated to Exeter, April 13, 1689.

### Chichester.

Brian Duppa, translated to Salisbury, 1641.

1. Henry King, consecrated December 19, 1641; died September, 1669.
2. Peter Gunning, March 6, 1670; translated to Ely, March 4, 1675.

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3. Ralph Bridcoke, consecrated April 18, 1675; died October 5, 1678.
4. Guy Carleton (Bishop of Bristol), confirmed January 8, 1679; died July 6, 1685.
5. John Lake (Bishop of Bristol), confirmed October 19, 1685; died 1689.

### Ely.

Matthew Wren, died 1667.

1. Benjamin Laney (Bishop of Lincoln), confirmed June 12, 1667; died January 24, 1675.
2. Peter Gunning (Bishop of Chichester), confirmed March 4, 1675; died July 6, 1684.
3. Francis Turner (Bishop of Rochester), confirmed August 23, 1684.

### Exeter.

Joseph Hall, translated to Norwich, 1641.

1. Ralph Brownrigg, consecrated 1642; died December 7, 1659.
2. John Gauden, consecrated November 18, 1660; translated to Worcester, 1661.
3. Seth Ward, consecrated July 20, 1662; translated to Salisbury, 1667.
4. Anthony Sparrow, consecrated November 3, 1667; translated to Norwich, 1676.
5. Thomas Lamplugh, consecrated November 12, 1676; translated to York, December 8, 1688.

### Gloucester.

Godfrey Goodman, died January 19, 1655.
(See vacant till after the Restoration.)

1. William Nicholson, consecrated January, 1661; died February 5, 1672.
2. John Prichard, consecrated November 3, 1672; died January 1, 1681.
3. Robert Frampton, consecrated March 27, 1681.

### Hereford.

George Coke, died December 10, 1646.
(See vacant fourteen years.)

1. Nicholas Monck, consecrated January 13, 1661; died December 17, 1661.
2. Herbert Croft, consecrated February 9, 1662; died May 18, 1691.

### Lichfield and Coventry.

Robert Wright, died, 1642.

1. Accepted Frewen, consecrated April, 1644; translated to York, 1660.
2. John Hacket, consecrated December 22, 1661; died October 28, 1670.
3. Thomas Wood, consecrated July 2, 1671; died April 18, 1692.

### Lincoln.

John Williams, translated to York, 1641.

1. Thomas Winniffe, consecrated 1641; died 1654.
(See vacant six years.)
2. Robert Sanderson, consecrated October 28, 1660; died January 29, 1663.
3. Benjamin Laney (Bishop of Peterborough), confirmed April 2, 1663; translated to Ely, May 24, 1667.
3. William Fuller (Bishop of Limerick), confirmed September 26, 1667; died April 22, 1675.
4. Thomas Barlowe, consecrated June 27, 1675; died October 8, 1691.

### Norwich.

Richard Montague, died 1641.

1. Joseph Hall (Bishop of Exeter), confirmed November, 1641; died September 8, 1656.
(See vacant five years.)
2. Edward Reynolds, consecrated January 13, 1661; died July 29, 1676.

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3. Anthony Sparrow (Bishop of Exeter), confirmed September 18, 1676; died May 19, 1685.
4. William Lloyd (Bishop of Peterborough), confirmed July 4, 1685.

### Oxford.

John Bancroft, died February, 1641.

1. Robert Skinner (Bishop of Bristol), confirmed 1641; translated to Worcester, 1663.
2. William Paul, consecrated December 20, 1663; died May 24, 1665.
3. Walter Blandford, consecrated December 3, 1665.
4. Nathaniel Crew, consecrated July 2, 1671; translated to Durham, October 22, 1674.
5. Henry Compton, consecrated December 6, 1674; translated to London, December 18, 1675.
6. John Fell, consecrated February 6, 1676; died July, 1686.

### Peterborough.

John Towers, died January 10, 1648.

(See vacant twelve years.)

1. Benjamin Laney, consecrated December 2, 1660; translated to Lincoln, April, 1663.
2. Joseph Henshaw, consecrated May, 1663; died March 9, 1678.
3. William Lloyd (Bishop of Llandaff), confirmed May 16, 1679; translated to Norwich, 1685.
4. Thomas White, consecrated October 25, 1685.

### Rochester.

John Warner, died October 14, 1666.

1. John Dolben, consecrated November 25, 1666; translated to York, 1683.
2. Francis Turner, consecrated November 11, 1683; translated to Ely, August 23, 1684.
3. Thomas Sprat, consecrated November 2, 1684; died May, 1713.

### Salisbury.

John Davenant, died April 20, 1641.

1. Brian Duppa (Bishop of Chichester), confirmed 1641; translated to Winchester, 1660.
2. Humphrey Henchman, consecrated October 28, 1660; translated to London, 1663.
3. John Earle (Bishop of Worcester), confirmed September 26, 1663; died November 17, 1665.
4. Alexander Hyde, consecrated December 31, 1665; died August 22, 1667.
5. Seth Ward (Bishop of Exeter), confirmed September 12, 1667; died January 6, 1689.

### Worcester.

John Thornborough, died July 9, 1641.

1. John Prideaux, consecrated December 19, 1641; died July 29, 1650.

(See vacant ten years.)

2. George Morley, consecrated October 28, 1660; translated to Winchester, 1662.
3. John Gauden (Bishop of Exeter), confirmed June 10, 1662; died September 10, 1662.
4. John Earle, consecrated November 30, 1662; translated to Salisbury, June, 1663.
5. Robert Skinner (Bishop of Oxford), confirmed November 4, 1663; died June 14, 1670.
6. Walter Blandford (Bishop of Oxford), confirmed June 13, 1671; died July 9, 1675.
7. James Fleetwood, consecrated August 29, 1675; died July 17, 1683.
8. William Thomas (Bishop of St. David's), confirmed August 27, 1683; died June, 1689.

### Carlisle.

Barnabas Potter, died 1641.

1. James Usher (Archbishop of Armagh), confirmed February, 1642; died March 21, 1656.

(See vacant five years.)

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2. Richard Sterne, consecrated December 2, 1660; translated to York, 1664.
3. Edward Rainbow, consecrated July 10, 1664; died March 26, 1684.
4. Thomas Smith, consecrated June 29, 1684; died April 12, 1702.

### Chester.

1. Brian Walton, consecrated December 2, 1660; died November 29, 1661.
2. Henry Ferne, consecrated February, 1662; died March, 1662.
3. George Hall, consecrated May 11, 1662; died August 23, 1668.
4. John Wilkins, consecrated November 15, 1668; died November 19, 1672.
5. John Pearson, consecrated February 9, 1673; died July, 1686.

### Sodor and Man.

Richard Parr, died during the Rebellion.

(See vacant till after the Restoration.)

1. Isaac Barrow, consecrated July 5, 1663; translated to St. Asaph, 1669. Held this *in commendam* till October, 1671.
2. Henry Bridgman, consecrated October 1, 1671; died May 15, 1682.
3. John Lake, consecrated December, 1682; translated to Bristol, August 12, 1684.
4. Baptist Leving, consecrated 1684; died 1692.

### St. David's.

Roger Manwaring, died July, 1653.

(See vacant seven years.)

1. William Lucy, consecrated November 18, 1660; died October 4, 1677.
2. William Thomas, consecrated January 27, 1678; translated to Worcester, 1683.
3. Laurence Wornack, consecrated November 11, 1683; died March 12, 1686.

## Llandaff.

Morgan Owen, died 1645.

(See vacant sixteen years.)

1. Hugh Lloyd, consecrated November 18, 1660; died June, 1667.
2. Francis Davies, consecrated August 24, 1667; died March 15, 1675.
3. William Lloyd, consecrated April 18, 1675; translated to Peterborough, 1679.
4. William Bean, consecrated June 22, 1679.

# *Appendix B.*

*(Rushworth.)*

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Appendix B. A solemn League and Covenant for reformation, and defence of religion, the honour and happiness of the King, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

We noblemen, barons, knights, gentlemen, citizens, burgesses, ministers of the Gospel, and commons of all sorts, in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by the providence of God living under one King, and being of one reformed religion, having before our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the honour and happiness of the King's Majesty, and his prosperity, and the true public liberty, safety, and peace of the kingdoms, wherein every one's private condition is included; and calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts, and practices of the enemies of God, against the true religion, and professors thereof in all places, especially in these three kingdoms, ever since the reformation of religion; and how much their rage, power, and presumption are of late, and at this time increased and exercised, whereof the deplorable estate of the Church and kingdom of Ireland, the distressed estate of the Church and kingdom of England, and the dangerous estate of the Church and kingdom of Scotland, are present and public testimonies; we have (now at last)

after other means of supplication, remonstrance, protestations, and sufferings, for the preservation of our lives, and our religion from utter ruin and destruction, according to the commendable practice of these kingdoms in former times, and the example of God's people in other nations, after mature deliberation, resolved and determined to enter into a mutual and solemn league and covenant, wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with one hand lifted up to the Most High God, do swear:

I.

That we shall sincerely, really and constantly through the grace of God, endeavour in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the Word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches; and we shall endeavour to bring the Church of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of Church government, directory for worship, and catechising, that we, and our posterity after us, may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

II.

That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy (that is, Church government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy), superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine, and the power of godliness, lest we partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues; and that the Lord may be ours, and His Name one, in the three kingdoms.

III.

We shall with the same reality, sincerity, and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavour with our estates and lives, mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the Parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the King's Majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms, that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his Majesty's just power and greatness.

IV.

We shall also, with all faithfulness, endeavour the discovery of all such as have been, or shall be, incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments, by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the King from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making any factions or parties among the people, contrary to the league and covenant, that they may be brought to public trial, and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve, or the supreme judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

V.

And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace between these kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is by the good providence of God granted unto us, and has been lately concluded and settled by both Parliaments, we shall, each one of us according to our places and interests, endeavour that they may remain conjoined in a firm peace and union to all posterity, and that justice may be done on all the wilful opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent articles.

VI.

We shall also, according to our places and callings, in

this common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdom, assist and defend all those that enter this league and covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof; and shall not suffer ourselves, directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or give ourselves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality in this cause which so much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the kingdoms, and honour of the King; but shall, all the days of our lives, zealously and constantly continue therein against all opposition, and promote the same according to our power, against all lets and impediments whatsoever; and what we are not able ourselves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed.

And because these kingdoms are guilty of many sins, and provocations against God, and his Son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof, we profess and declare before God and the world our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our own sins, and for the sins of these kingdoms; especially that we have not, as we ought, valued the inestimable benefit of the Gospel; that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof; and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of Him in our lives, which are the cause of other sins and transgressions, so much abounding amongst us; and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour for ourselves, and all others under our charge, both in public and private, in all duties we owe to God and man; to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation, that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these churches and kingdoms in truth and peace. And this covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by His Holy Spirit

Appendix B. for this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with such success as may be a deliverance and safety to His people, and encouragement to the Christian Churches, groaning under, or in danger of, the yoke of anti-Christian tyranny, to join with the same, or like attestation and covenant, to the glory of God, the enlargement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of Christian kingdoms and commonwealths.

# *Appendix C.*

The reduction of Episcopacy unto the form of synodical government received in the ancient Church, proposed in the year 1641, as an expedient for the prevention of those troubles which afterwards did arise, about the matter of Church Government—Episcopal and Presbyterian Government conjoined.



By the order of the Church of England, all Presbyters are charged to minister the doctrine, and sacraments, and the discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this realm hath received the same. And that they might the better understand what the Lord had commanded therein, the exhortation of St. Paul to the Elders of the Church of Ephesus is appointed to be read unto them at the time of their ordination:—"Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock among whom the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers to rule the congregation of God, which he hath purchased with His blood."

Of the many Elders who, in common, thus ruled the Church of Ephesus, there was one President whom our Saviour, in His Epistle to the Church, in a peculiar manner, styleth "the Angel of the Church of Ephesus," and Ignatius, in another Epistle, written about twelve years after to the same Church, calleth the Bishop thereof. Betwixt which bishop and the Presbytery of that

Appendix C.

Church what an harmonious consent there was in the ordering the Church government, the same Ignatius doth fully there declare. By the Presbytery (with St. Paul) understanding the company of the rest of the Presbytery or Elders, who then had a hand, not only in the delivery of the doctrine and sacraments, but also in the administration of the discipline of Christ. For farther proof whereof, we have that known testimony of Tertullian in his general Apology for Christians. "In the Church are used exhortations, chastisements, and divine censures; for judgment is given with great advice, as among those who are certain they are in the sight of God, and it is the chiefest foreshowing of the judgment which is to come, if any man hath so offended that he be banished from the Communion of Prayer, and of the Assembly, and of all Holy Fellowship. The Presidents that bear rule therein, are certain approved Elders who have obtained this honour, not by reward, but by good report." Who were no other (as he himself elsewhere intimateth) than those from whose hands they used to receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist. For with the bishop, who was the Chief President (and therefore styled by the same Tertullian in another place, *Summus Sacerdos*, for distinction sake), the rest of the dispensers of the Word and Sacraments were joined in the common government of the Church. And therefore, in matters of ecclesiastical judicature, Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, used the received form of gathering together the Presbytery. Of what persons that did consist, Cyprian sufficiently declareth, when he wished him to read his letters to the flourishing clergy that there did reside or rule with him.

The presence of the clergy being thought to be so requisite in matters of Episcopal audience, that in the Fourth Council of Carthage, it was concluded that the bishop might hear no man's cause without the presence of the clergy, which we find also to be inserted in the canons of Egbert, who was Archbishop of York in the Saxon times, and afterwards into the body of the canon law itself.

True it is, that in our Church this kind of Presbyterian government hath been long disused—yet seeing it still professeth that every Pastor hath a right to rule the

Church (from whence the name of Rector also was given at first to him) and to administer the discipline of Christ, as well as to dispense the Doctrine and Sacraments, and the restraint of the exercise of that right proceedeth only from the custom now received in this realm, no man can doubt, but by another law of the land, this hindrance may be well removed. And how easily this ancient form of government by the united suffrages of the clergy might be revived again, and with what little show of alteration the synodical conventions of the pastors of every parish might be accorded with the presidency of the Bishops of each diocese and province, the indifferent reader may quickly perceive by the perusal of the ensuing propositions :

## I.

In every parish the Rector, or the Incumbent Pastor, together with the Churchwarden and Sidesmen, may every week take notice of such as live scandalously in that congregation ; who are to receive such several admonitions and reproofs, as the quality of their offence shall deserve ; and if by this means they cannot be reclaimed, they may be presented unto the next monthly Synod, and in the mean time be debarred by the Pastor from access unto the Lord's Table.

## II.

Whereas, by a Statute in the 26th of Henry VIII. (revived in the 1st of Queen Elizabeth) Suffragans are appointed to be erected in twenty-six several places of this kingdom, the number of them might very well be conformed unto the number of the several rural deaneries, into which every diocese is subdivided ; which, being done, the Suffragan (supplying the place of those who in the ancient Church were called *Chorepiscopi*) might every month assemble a synod of all the Rectors or Incumbent pastors within the precinct, and according to the major part of their voices conclude all matters that should be brought into debate before them. To this Synod the Rector and

 Churchwardens might present such impenitent persons as, by admonition and suspension from the Sacrament, would not be reformed; who, if they would still remain contumacious and incorrigible, the sentence of Excommunication might be decreed against them by the Synod, and accordingly be executed in the parish where they lived. Hitherto also all things that concerned the parochial ministers, might be referred whether they did touch their doctrine or their conversation; as also the censure of all new opinions, heresies, and schisms, which did arise within that circuit, with liberty of appeal, if need so require, unto the Diocesan Synod.

## III.

The Diocesan Synod might be held once or twice in the year, as it should be thought most convenient, wherein all the Suffragans and the rest of the Rectors or Incumbent pastors, or a certain select number out of every Deanery within that Diocese, might meet: with whose consent, or the major part of them, all things might be concluded by the Bishop or Superintendent (call him which you will), or in his absence by one of the Suffragans whom he should depute in his stead to be moderator of that assembly. Here all matters of greater moment might be taken into consideration, and the orders of the monthly synods revised, and (if need be) reformed. And if here also any matter of difficulty could not receive a full determination, it might be referred to the next Provincial or National Synod.

## IV.

The Provincial Synod might consist of all the Bishops and Suffragans, and such of the clergy as should be elected out of every Diocese within the Province. The Primate of either Province might be the moderator of this meeting (or in his room some one of the Bishops appointed by him), and all matters be ordered therein by common consent, as in the former assemblies. This Synod might be held every third year, and if the Parliament do then

sit, both the Primates and Provincial Synods of the land might join together and make up a National Council; wherein all appeals from inferior synods might be received, all their acts examined, and all ecclesiastical constitutions which concern the state of the Church of the whole nation established. Appendix C.

*End of the Second Volume.*

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